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1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the general principles of the theory of the structure of the human brain.



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HISTORY

OF THE

STATE OF NEW-YORK.

BY JOSEPH W. MOULTON.

PART II.

NOVUM BELGIUM.



NEW-YORK :

PUBLISHED BY E. BLISS & E. WHITE.

1826.

J. Seymour, Printer, 49 John-street, New York.

Southern District of New-York, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twenty-seventh day of May, 1826, in the fiftieth year of the Independence of the United States of America, Joseph W. Moulton, of the said District, has deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as author and proprietor, in the words following, to wit :

" History of the State of New-York. By Joseph W. Moulton. Part II. Novum Belgium."

In conformity to the Act of Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned." And also to an Act, entitled "an Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled an Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

JAMES DILL,
Clerk of the Southern District of New York.

ADVERTISEMENT TO PART II.

THIS part is presented as a sample, and as strictly the commencement of the historical work. It must not, however, be expected to contain that intimate view of society, nor to excite that intense interest in its progress, which will characterise some future numbers. The period to which this refers, was anterior to the recorded transactions of the Dutch. The first thirty years of the colony, or from the discovery in 1609 to the close of Van Twiller's Administration in 1638, is emphatically the dark era of our history. But the author has ventured to explore this terra incognita; and the intelligent reader will probably not be surprised, that so little has been brought to light, but that by any process of unwearied and elaborate investigation, it was possible to present a connected and consistent narrative of the rise and progress of the colony in its infancy. This, however, has been done, or at least attempted.

The embryo speck of the city of New-York and its first regulated commerce, are here exhibited. The contrast between the amount of exports and imports one hundred and ninety-three years ago, and those of the present day, will afford pleasure, as a subject of curiosity. But the enlightened merchant will look a little further. He will see commerce as it then was, fettered by an armed monopoly. He will now behold it in all its might and energy, sweeping over the globe, and returning its treasures to reward unrestricted enterprise and adventure. He will reflect upon the incalculable advantages of a free trade; and will perceive that hence has arisen an example of improvement, perhaps, unrivalled in the history of the world—that of the little *Dorp* or village of *New Amsterdam*, becoming the commercial mistress of the ascendant on the continent of America, and as such, the pride of twenty-four free, populous, and flourishing republican states!

It cannot be a subject of indifference to the citizens of New-York, now advancing towards a population of two millions, to retrace the commencement and early progress of the little settlement of New Belgium, or New Netherland: a colony, founded and nurtured amid the negligence and rapine of war, overlooked by the parent country, exposed to Indian hostility and the rival jealousy of surrounding European colonies, and finally subjugated, after a growth of half a century, by people of different language, views, and policy. There ought to be a deep interest to know by what steps the State has been conducted, within two ages, and literally within the remembrance of many individuals, to the secure possession of power, splendour, and refinement. Who were the pioneers—who were the belots that toiled and suffered the hardships incidental to the establishment of such an order of things? Shall their names be as the dust of their first

fort, scattered to the four winds, or buried, for ever, beneath the superincumbent rubbish? Shall we ungratefully turn away from them, as the base things of the earth—because while they were unconsciously labouring for our advantage, they had neither leisure nor opportunity to transmit to their descendants the portraiture of high polish, brilliant intellect, and transcendent virtue? There is an affectation of squeamishness—a sort of delicate infection, which makes some men revolt at the idea of coming in contact with the rude founders of our country. They look upon these, and all the incidents and events with which their names, characters, and conduct, were associated, as beneath the dignity of history. They would have history mingle only with great personages and great events; with monarchs, conquerors, and courtiers, queens, priestesses of fashion, and courtezans of rank; canvass what the common eye dare not, cannot, or would not behold—the secret policy and intrigues of courts, cabinets, and cabals. They would have history upon a comprehensive plan, march with great armies to decisive battles; trace the complex machinery of government, and survey its effects in the happiness or misery of millions of subjects; or develop, in the spirit and genius of times better adapted for the purpose than those of the colonies, the moral and intellectual character, when the collision of free opinion elicits extraordinary discoveries, and produces revolutions as astonishing in mind as in government. It is true that the colonial annals do not embrace topics on a scale of such magnitude; nor can history change the essential nature of the subject, and elevate that which is comparatively humble into something superior to itself. The reader must not, therefore, expect in these pages, the rise and progress of an empire, the constitutional history of a great kingdom, or the diversified settlements of a vast continent. But it is not the magnitude alone of the subject, or the vastness of the results, which displays topics for speculative philosophy, political calculation, and practical wisdom. Generalization, by frittering away the details, may afford cold data, but what is thus gained in abstract philosophy and politics, is lost in individual interest. The theatre of operations may be really circumscribed, the personages few, the plot and incidents comparatively unimportant; but still, human nature loves to dwell upon individuality, and hence, therefore, from that little assemblage may be derived both instruction and amusement, while the sympathies become more intensely awakened to a participation in the woes, the pleasures, and even follies of our fellow-men. The author will, in future numbers, illustrate these principles fully, by introducing a picture of society—the institutions, laws, customs, manners, costume, and anecdotes of the “olden time,” and thus add interest to the regular details of public affairs—the revolutions, wars, and politics which agitated the colony, and its progress in population and resources.

The most unpleasant task to a benevolent disposition is, that of arraigning the motives and conduct of individuals whose descendants are living. But men and measures are inseparable, when the motives of the former correspond with the pernicious consequences of the latter. Such a duty

is indispensable. And so far as the author may deem it essential to the history, he shall perform it, with studied impartiality, without unnecessary severity, but without the slightest fear. If not essential, far be it from him to recuscitate recorded criminality or posthumous slander. Few families could escape a malicious industry that should employ itself in pampering the prevailing love of scandal.

In this country, however, (thanks to the heroes of our revolution, and gratitude to that Being who gave them virtue and valour) families or individuals are estimated by their own merits and conduct, and their rise or fall is graduated accordingly. The good sense of the community has long since rebuked the injustice of inflicting a vicarious punishment, and on the other hand, the spirit of aristocracy, has long since cowered to the freedom of our institutions. The passport to all that is valuable in public or private opinion, must bear the intrinsic impress: and the avenue to political distinction or official elevation, to the walks of professional eminence or to the field of glory, are open to the ambition of all classes.

The design of the author is to comprise, within four or five volumes, the History of the Colony and State to the era of its Canal policy. The materials for the work are so abundant as to create an embarrassment of choice. Besides the manuscript collections of several societies, and the family documents of many individuals, there are one hundred volumes folio in manuscript among the records of the State, all of which must be carefully consulted. From this inestimable historical mine, not enough has been yet extracted to show its value. Little, indeed, has been done in the department of our history. The exertions of the New-York Historical Society have accumulated very rare and valuable books and manuscripts. But with the exception of their published Collections, and the inaccurate epitome of Mr. Smith,* the field of inquiry has been entirely unoccupied.

The progress of the History will necessarily be slow, unless public patronage should justify the author in suspending entirely his professional business. He has devoted two years to it, and spared no expense or exertion in personally collecting original materials from the societies of several cities, from individuals, and, through a friend† now in Europe, from the manuscripts of the Royal Library of Paris. Thus far he has not realized a public patronage sufficient to remunerate the cost of printing. A task of this magnitude might have dismayed the timid, and a success of this description would certainly have alarmed the selfish. But no mercenary motives prompted the undertaking, and no moderate sacrifices shall prevent its accomplishment.‡ While the author thus avows his determination to

* His history closes in 1732. A continuation of thirty years is now in the press, and will be published in another volume of the New-York Historical Collections. This continuation may, under certain limitations, form a valuable item to the materials.

† The author expects from the same friend some valuable manuscripts from Holland.

‡ The person with whom he was originally associated (but who has been much engaged in professional and official duties) has never contributed a sentence or fact. The author in future will publish his work in his own name only.

persevere, he cannot but express his confidence, that he shall meet a rever-
sionary liberality among the intelligent citizens of this State.

The present part has been composed from facts derived from a great variety of sources. The author has aimed to exclude from his subject the character of a compilation, by clothing it in such a style, and giving to it such an arrangement, as he considered appropriate. He has endeavoured also to avoid verbal errors, similar to those which, partly from inadvertance, but principally from the printing, crept into the Introductory part. Those who have experienced the trouble of superintending the press, and have not been accustomed to discipline their minds to the minute attention of a professional abecedarian, will concede every reasonable indulgence for mistakes of this description. Notes to the work were unavoidable. It would otherwise have been impossible to have preserved connexion in narrative, or consistence in chronology. To speak of places, men, and affairs as they were anciently known and distinguished, required that modern names, allusions, and explanations should be excluded from the text.

The author submits the present part with a wish that in its perusal, the pleasure of the reader might bear some proportion to the labour and difficulty inseparable from the performance.

New-York, May 1826.

VIEW OF FORT AMSTERDAM.

THIS Picture is a bird's eye view of the localities around what is now New-York; apparently done from a recollection of their situation as seen from the heights above Weehawk, by an intelligent Dutch officer. This is sufficiently manifested in the superlative beauty and accuracy of the fort, shipping, canoes, and Indians.*

Nearly in the centre of the subject stands the elegantly regular "Fort Amsterdam;" being a square fortress, standing nearly due north and south, with bastions at each angle, (as it was in modern days) with a half-moon covering the eastern curtain; and a demi horn-work covering the western, and with a ditch surrounding the whole. On the salient angle of the south-west bastion is the Dutch standard hoisted. Outside the fort, from the salient angle of the north-west, to that of the south-east bastions, are four clusters of a few houses each; and still more to the east is a

* The author is indebted for these descriptive remarks to Archibald Robertson, Esq.

windmill. The whole stands upon the southernmost point of the island of Manhatans. The limits, towards the right of the picture, admit no more of the island, than to Domine's Hook, now the foot of Harrison-street. Over the fort is seen Long Island across the East River, with Guanass creek seeming to run far into that island. Directly off the southern point of Manhatans island, towards the left of the picture, are three armed ships, at anchor in the North river, with their heads towards the east. Above these vessels is seen the horizon at the narrows, and under them is the Jersey shore at Paulus Hook. Beneath is Hoboken, on the foreground, with the bay of Ahasimus between them. Immediately under the south point of the Manhatan is a canoe, with outriggers at stem and stern, in which are two Indians paddling it; abreast of Paulus Hook is a pettyauger with leeboards, and a high poop stern, surmounted by a Dutch marine flag, and scudding before the south-west wind up the Mauritius, Hudson, or North river. On the foreground is an elegantly formed canoe,* with five Indians on board, four of which stand up paddling along, two on each side, placed alternately; and one seated on what in this situation may be denominated the stern: the two paddlers on the starboard, have quivers filled with arrows on their backs; they are all naked to their waist-cloths—most probably of skins; and each with two long straight feathers for their crests, as all the other Indians in the piece have. At each end of this canoe, which seems calculated to sail either way, the stem and stern are raised above, about one foot, over the gunwales, and project horizontally at each end; what may be termed a bowsprit finished by a spherical head about the size of a man's. These bowsprits or handles seem an ingenious contrivance for lifting the canoe and carrying it on the land, by two men hoisting it on their shoulders, and thus as on a pole, carrying it from place to place with ease and expedition. Over the bow of this canoe towards the right of the picture, is a Dutch long-boat, with high poop, in which, amidships, are two sailors rowing: at the bow is an outlook man standing up; and at the stern are two soldiers seated, with raised pikes or muskets. On the left of this subject in the bay of Ahasimus, are two common canoes, without the outrigger apparatus: in the nearest is seen an Indian, and in the other are two paddlers, drest like those in the large war canoe, the whole of them with their heads towards the east.

As a work of art this view is very curious. It is evidently an effort of a strong memory, even allowing for the omission of Governor's Island, which the artist has apparently united to Long Island: which some have supposed was once the fact;† for in the memory of those still alive, the Buttermilk channel was nearly fordable, where is now six or seven fathoms of depth. The general proportions and shape of the land are tolerably

* Winthrop in his Journal says, the Indians of Long Island had canoes which would contain sixty persons.

† This however was not the case in the time of the first two Dutch governors, Minuit and Van Twiller, for the island is expressly referred to in the Dutch records, as *Nooten Eylandt*, or Island of Nuts.

correct, and the shipping and canoes elegantly so. But in the proportion of the shipping to the extent of the land, there is a wonderful mistake ; for the distance between New-York and Paulus Hook we know to be a mile and one quarter, which the length of their three ships do more than fill up, thus making each vessel to be from stem to stern half a mile long—let this be corrected and all would be faultless.

Fort Amsterdam occupied the site of the two blocks of houses formed by the Bowling Green, State, Pearl, and Whitehall streets. The salient angles of the north-east and north-west bastions, formed the angles at the corners of Whitehall-street and Bowling Green, whilst that of the Bowling Green and State-street formed the other: the salient angles of the south-east and south-west bastions form now the corner of Whitehall and Pearl-streets ; and that of Pearl and State streets formed the other salient angle. The half-moon covering the east curtain of the fort extended across and beyond Whitehall-street, and the demi horn-work covering the west curtain crossed State-street, and projected some distance into our present Battery ; although the great gate is not represented* on this picture, yet we know it was in the centre of the north curtain facing the Bowling Green.

The cluster of houses at the salient angle of the north-west bastion stood upon the block contained within Broadway, Marketfield, and Greenwich streets and Beaver-lane. The cluster standing off the north-east bastion was contained in the block within Beaver, Broad, and Stone streets and Broadway ; and between these two stand a cluster in the centre of what is now Broadway near the Bowling Green ; and a fourth cluster stands where now are Water and Moore streets. A little to the east of these is a windmill, near a creek which flowed where now is Broad-street. Upon what is now the Bowling Green stands a pole or gibbet for the punishment of transgressors, on which, it has been said, they were hoisted by the waist and there suspended, during a longer or shorter period, proportionate to merited suffering and disgrace.

The plate represents but few buildings, and consequently there were but few inhabitants. It is also curious as affording an opportunity to contrast, not only the size, construction of buildings, population, and commerce of that day and those of the present city of New-York, but the water craft, then and now : then the annual arrival of more than two or three ships from Holland was an extraordinary circumstance ; now, two thousand sail of vessels of every description float upon these waters. Vessels of the most beautiful structure have taken place of the clumsy marine architecture of that day. Ships of the largest size are substituted for the Dutch yachts ; and instead of canoes, almost an equal number of steam boats now ply between the cities and towns on the Hudson and between New-York and the neighbouring states : some of them of four and five hundred tons burthen, and frequently conveying an equal number of passengers.

* The fort had also a water gate at the south side, as appears from allusions made to it in the Dutch records.

HISTORY

OF

NEW NETHERLAND.

CHAPTER I.

From 1609 to 1614. Hudson's discovery. Its effect in Holland, considered in connexion with a retrospection of the character, resources, public policy, and predominant genius of that country, at this period. The second visit to the Hudson River, in 1610—its object and consequences. Transient navigators. Mana-hata and Kayingahaga Indians—Fur Trade—Temporary structures near Schenectadea in 1613, and on Manhattan 1614—Competition in the Trade—Remonstrance to the States General—their decree in favor of those who had an agency in the discovery—consequently the foundation of the first licensed Trading Company.

THE discovery of the *Great River of the Mountains*, by Henry Hudson, and the novel incidents of his adventure, have been described in the introduction to this history. Intercepted in his return to Holland, by an exertion of the royal prerogative in England, he embarked from London, on a northern voyage, and perished; while the vessel which he had commanded upon this discovery, was allowed, with its Dutch sailors, to return to Amsterdam in the spring of 1610.* The encomium which he previously transmitted from England, upon "the pleasantest land for cultivating that men need tread upon,"† was now reiterated by these companions of his discovery. They had seen the country arrayed in autumnal luxuriance, and had experienced only, that, like Holland, it was

* See Introduction, or Part I. §. 48, 49, 53. p. 274-6.

† De Laet Beschryvinghe van Nieuwe Wereldt ofte West Indië, 1625.

subject to variable winds, the lightning and thunder of heaven, and the storm and tempest : but its picturesque appearance—variegated by the beauties of spontaneous vegetation, and the magnificence of mountain scenery ; the richness of its soil, the variety and abundance of its game, fish, furs, and ship timber, could not fail to captivate the senses and impress the minds of a people, stimulated by successful enterprises, flushed with recent victories, fired by ambition and national glory, and unrivalled for a skilful and frugal industry, that had spread its prodigies over a country, presenting a surface of sand and fen, embracing four hundred thousand morgen* only of arable land, and therefore inadequate in peace or war, to feed its population. The sanguinary contest with Spain, just suspended by a twelve years' armistice, had, in the course of thirty years, concentrated in Holland a dense population. Adventurers from every quarter flocked thither—industry of every species found employment—artisans, mechanics, manufacturers, and labourers were invited, and multitudes cherished and protected, who in other countries, would have been exposed to want, or as heretics, to the stake. The public laws, dictated by a benign spirit of toleration, had sanctioned it as the asylum of the persecuted, and its standard of liberty, supported by an invincible perseverance in chivalric courage, had rallied the friends of freedom from every part of Europe.

If a people so characterised, so signalised, and so located, could not resist a strong impression in favour of a country, so naturally superior to the land of their nativity or adoption,

* The morgen is not quite two acres of land. An explanation of this measure, as it prevailed in the colony of New-York, may be useful to the understanding of many Dutch patents. The Rhinsland rod was the Dutch measure for land, contained 12 English feet, 4 inches, 3 quarters ; there are 5 to a Dutch chain, which consequently contains 61 feet, 11 inches and 3 quarters—25 such rods long and 24 broad, make a morgen, which consists of 600 square Dutch rods. (Peter Fauconnier's survey book, 1715 to 1734, manuscript, in MSS. of New-York Historical Society.)

was the present crisis in public affairs or the present condition of the society, the national policy, or the spirit of private enterprise to produce a consequence to the discovery favourable to immediate colonization? At the present crisis, the public tranquillity had divested of employment a vast number of people who had served in the armies and navy of the Republic, and of whom many had been too familiar with scenes of violence, and too little accustomed to respect the rights of persons and property, to be at once beggared and contented. As it is the policy of every wise government to encourage national industry, and to devise ways and means to give full employment to the energies of the people, because the measure is not only conducive to national wealth, but salutary to public morals: so, at the present period, the government of the United Provinces might have acted wisely, by introducing some plan of colonization, which heretofore had properly been excluded from their policy, because they had not felt the incumbrance of a superfluous population.

Subsistence for a people vastly disproportioned in numbers to the natural capacity of the country, had been the tribute of the world to that astonishing skill which reared a great national fabric, adapted to the peculiar interests and condition of the country—a tribute to the perseverance that sustained it, and the valour that, amid the fury of war, secured to it unrivaled strength and magnificence. Its four great pillars were, manufactures, fisheries, the carrying trade, and traffic: the main pillar was the last, and arose, like the country itself, from the ocean. Without indigenous productions to freight a hundred ships, Holland and its confederate provinces annually built a thousand. They had more than England and ten other kingdoms of Christendom.* Twenty thousand vessels, and more than two hundred thousand mariners, displayed

* According to Sir Walter Raleigh's report to King James. See John De Witt's True Interest and Political Maxims of the Republic of Holland and West Friesland. Printed, London, 1702, part I. c. 3.6. See vol. 23 Quarterly Review, p. 435. In *three days* in 1601, says De Witt on authority of Emanuel Van Meteren, there sailed out of Holland, eastward, between 800 and 900 ships, and 1500 busses for herring fishery alone.

the republican flag on the Baltic and Mediterranean, on the coast of Great Britain, in Africa, in the West Indies, on the Indian Ocean, and within the Arctic Circle.

Hence had arisen the national resources, and hence also the national character received its predominant impression. Although the recent armistice, by ensuring safety, invigorated private enterprise, and gave extraordinary impetus to the peculiar genius of the nation, yet the multitudes that had been dismissed from public service, without any equivalent provision in their favour, were threatened with indigence, and forced to flee the country, or to roam over it as depredators, or in the capacity of pirates, to raise a parricidal arm against the hand that had fed them. The government, from an inflexible perseverance in a policy which would not yield to the exigencies of times or circumstances, did not possess the wisdom, or perceive the expediency of providing, by suitable encouragement, for the colonization of a country, which certainly presented to a surplus population an excellent opening, and to Holland the assurance of an inexhaustible granary. Such an enterprise was therefore left to the spirit of private adventure. But this had acquired the peculiar bent, which has been mentioned, and it cannot therefore be imagined, that, without any direct interposition of government in favour of a colony, the superior fertility of the new world would tempt a commercial people, to vary habits of pursuit which had become almost inflexible, or counterbalance the strength of prepossessions that held the father-land precious by a thousand associations.

The fur trade and fisheries were, however, among the prevailing objects of private adventure, and the discovery of Hudson opportunely awakened attention to these, as objects of gain. The city of Amsterdam, whence he had embarked, containing about one fifth* of the resident inhabitants of that province of which it was the metropolis, was the centre of maritime operations. Here every commercial project was inves-

* 115,022—see poll-tax list, Gerard Malines, *Lex Mercatoria*, cited by De Witt P. I. c. 9.

tigated, and hence every new avenue to wealth was explored. The Amsterdam directors of the East India company, who particularly had patronised Hudson's design of a northern passage to India, though disappointed in this object, appreciated his minor discovery.* They looked to the *Great River*,† and anticipated an indemnity for past expenses, in the profits of an article of commerce, heretofore obtained through the agency of the Muscovian‡ and other traders, in the north of Europe. Furs, objects of luxury and cost to Europeans, were to be purchased from the Indians, with the baubles and trinkets of Haerlem and Nuremberg. In this traffic, therefore, gold and silver, the exportation of which the States General had this year (1610) unwisely prohibited,§ would have been superfluous, for the purest ingots were less valuable to the Indians, whom Hudson visited, than their own shell money, copper ornaments or stone pipes. From these causes, and under indications thus favourable, a ship was equipped this year,|| for a second visit to the *Cohohatatie*¶ of the aborigines. As the only object was a cargo of furs, the voyage was unimportant, excepting in its consequences, for it was the prelude to the fur trade, in which was the germ of the future colonization of the country. Some of the companions of Hudson may have now piloted this ship to the scene of their first interesting adventure, for the Indians say, by tradition,** that the *Assyreoni*, or cloth makers, and *Charistooni*, or iron workers,†† whom they had hailed as celestial beings, came the next year agreeably to their promise.

* Intro. sec. 48, p. 202.

† *Groote Rivier*—the Hudson.

‡ Dutch Records, letter A. or vol. II. 10–13 of Vander Kemp's Translation.

§ De Witt P. I. c. 23.

|| De Laet.

¶ Indian name of the Hudson.

** See the tradition, Intro. sec. 51, p. 251.

†† These were the names the Mohawks gave to the Dutch, (according to Rev. J. Megapolensis, the first clergyman in Renselaerwyck, in his *Kort Ontwerp vande Mahakuase Indianen, en Nieuw Nederlandt, haer Landt*, &c. 1644. Note.—This is in manuscript among the Du Simitiere MSS. of

The voyage was successful, and therefore repeated. The fame of its profits and of the country stimulated adventurers; and within three years, much competition arose in this new branch of the commerce of Holland. The hostility of the Indians on the eastern shore of the Great River, manifested even while Hudson was sailing upon it, rendered succeeding navigators cautious in their approaches; and therefore they confined themselves, during their first visits, to their ships, and traded with the natives in canoes, for furs, oysters,† wild fowl, maize, beans, and tobacco. The *Kayingahaga*, or Mohawks, who, in an oration‡ to Hudson, appeared, amid their joyful surprise and exuberance of good will, to tender their country and all their wealth, maintained a cordial and undiminished friendship. In their neighbourhood the ships, of which some wintered,§ were safe, and intercourse was less guarded. This was the head of ship navigation, and the chief mart of the fur trade; the principal source of which extending north, was *Couxsachraga*, or the *Dismal Wilderness*,|| the beaver hunting country of the five confederate nations of Indians. Assailed by Champlain, the founder of Quebec, at the head of his Indian allies, they were impelled by the strongest motives to cultivate harmony with the Dutch, and consequently obtain, in exchange for furs, such novel engines of war as had

the Philadelphia Library.) The Delawares called the Dutch *Swannakwak*, (Heckewelder, but see Intro. sec. 51, p. 255.) This name perhaps arose from the name of *Swaendael*, on the Delaware river, where the Dutch were massacred. De Vries says these Indians denominated the Dutch *Swaendaels*, or *Swanekens*. The New England Indians named the English *Chauquaquock*, or knife-men, (from *Chauquock* a knife—Roger Williams' key to the Indian language, 1643.) The Canada Indians called all the French *Normands*, (Nova Francia, or three voyages of De Monts, &c. translated from the French. London, 1609.) See as to the early visits of the *Norrmans*, or Scandinavians, Intro. sec. 27.

† No lobsters were found on the coast at this period, according to tradition, related by Kalm, in travels I. 187-3.

‡ See Intro. sec. 51.

§ De Laet.

|| The northern counties of New-York, forming the triangle bounded by lakes Ontario, Champlain, and the rivers thence flowing.

recently given to the *Algonquins* a victorious superiority. The Mohawks, indeed, were very early denominated by the other Indians, Sankhicanni, or fire-workers, in consequence of the astonishment of their neighbours at beholding in their hands the clumsy guns with match-locks, which the Dutch had furnished them.*

It has been affirmed,† that as early as 1613, an insignificant warehouse was erected on a small island just below *Skaghneghtady*‡; and that in 1614, four houses§ were on the island which Hudson had, five years previously, mentioned as *Manahata*. This is possible. The fierce inhabitants of this island, cruel and inimical as the Dutch|| say they were, may have mitigated their hostility, and, imitating the policy of their hereditary foes, the Mohawks, allowed huts for traffic and fishing. These must have been temporary in design, and consequently frail in structure; for no fortified or permanent settlement could have been contemplated, so long as the country was unappropriated, and the trade thither was participated by all adventurers. Competition had indeed become so disadvantageous to individual enterprise, that those who had seconded Hudson's voyage, sensibly felt the effects of a rivalry which they had no power to prevent: for, as an East India Company, their charter could not embrace this western region; and if the unauthorised assertion,¶ that Hudson sold to them his discovery, had been true, they could not thence, in a corporate capacity, have acquired an exclusive interest, as no public sanction had secured to them the monopoly. A memorial was therefore presented to their High Mightinesses the Lords States-General,** stating that they who had incurred the ex-

* See Intro. sec. 41, p. 177.

† Acrelius, *Nya-Swerige*.

‡ (Albany) signifying *the other side of the pine*, (Col. Brant, in MSS. of N. Y. Historical Society.)

§ Plantagenet's New-Albion.

|| De Laet.

¶ See Smith's New-York. See Intro. sec. 53, p. 275.

** De Hooge Moghenda Heeren Staten Generael.

pense and risk of originating discoveries, were prevented, by an unjust competition, from realizing an adequate remuneration. The States accordingly passed an edict on the 27th day of March, 1614,* that "all persons who had discovered, or who might discover, any rivers, bays, harbours or countries before unknown, should enjoy, besides other advantages, the exclusive trade there for four successive voyages." This was the first recognition by the Republic, of an exclusive right vested in its citizens by the discovery of any part of the New World, or West Indies, as it was then denominated; and this was the foundation of the Amsterdam Licensed Trading West Indian Company.

* *Groot Plakaatboek*, I. D. 563, or Book of Resolutions, as cited by Lambrechtsen in *Korte Beschrijving*, &c. van Nieuw Nederland, &c. This was undoubtedly the correct date, as is confirmed by De Laët, book III. c. 9. But l'Histoire Generale des Voyages, tom. xxi. 280, places the grant in 1610: Joost Hartger in *Beschryvinge van Virginia, Nieuw Nederland, Nieuw Engeland*, &c. Amst. 1651, (a MS. copy of which is in the Loganian Library) fixes the date 1611. Abm. Yates, jun. in letter to Jedediah Morse, 1793, (MSS. of N. Y. Historical Society) puts the grant 27th March, 1612.

CHAPTER II.

1614 to 1621. The operations of the Amsterdam Licensed Trading Company. *Schipper Blok's* and *Christiaanse's* voyage to Manhattan and discoveries. First fortified settlement on Casteel Eyland (1614), on Manhattan (1615.) The *Opper hoofd* and *commis*. Reflections on the character of this military and commercial establishment. Treaty of alliance with the *Kenunitioni*. Removal from Castle Island to Nordtman's kill, (1617.) Dutch at Esopus, Bergen, Schenectady, (1620.) No colony contemplated. English claim the Hudson. Argall's supposed conquest of Manhattan. The English were the first that designed a colony, (1620.) The founders of New England intended to settle near the Hudson. The Dutch now projecting the establishment of a great National Society, and under its auspices a permanent settlement on the Great River.

THE members of this company had a double object: to secure the possession of the Great River by fortifications, and to extend their commercial privileges under the edict by the discovery of circumjacent places. The same year (1614) two ships were, therefore, equipped, and commanded by *Adriaan Blok* and *Hendrik Christiaanse*. They left Holland. *Schipper Blok* arrived first at Manhattan. His ship was accidentally burned. He erected on the shore of the river, a small vessel,* the first specimen of marine architecture superior to a canoe which had probably ever been finished here, and the first ocular demonstration to the Indians of the pre-eminent intelligence and skill of the *Charistooni*.† In this vessel, Blok sailed from the Great River, upon a voyage of exploration and discovery. He distinguished by the name of *Helle-gadt rivier*,‡ the water flowing from *Pag-gank*,§ to *Helle-gadt*,|| between Manhattan and *Sewanhacky*,

* Yacht 44½ feet long on deck, 11½ wide. De Laet.

† See note, page 337.

‡ Named afterwards *Oost rivier*—East river.

§ Indian name of Governor's Island, in the bay of New-York. The Dutch called it *Nooten Eylandt*, from the nuts found on it.

|| Hole of hell, or hellish hole. Hell Gate.

or the *Island of Shells*.* He determined its insular situation,† examined the places in the *Great Bay*,‡ and sailed to the coast which Hudson had named New Holland, and the English Cape Cod. Here he met *Schipper Christiaanse*’ ship, embarked, and left his yacht to be used by a fishing party. After this arrangement, the two navigators examined the neighbouring islands and coast, probably before they proceeded to the Great River, to accomplish the chief design of their voyage. The islands recognised by the Dutch as *Christiaanse* island and *Blok* island, may have been so named at this time, in conformity to the custom of Hollanders who considered themselves first discoverers.§

Blok bestowed upon the cluster of islands near the west shore|| of the great bay of *Sewanhacky*, the appellation of *Archipelago*,¶ and to the *Housatunnuk*, the name of the river of the red mountain.** But the discoveries, to which it may be necessary hereafter to advert, as more important than any others made this year, were of the *Narraganset* bay, which the Dutch denominated bay of *Nassau*,†† and river, ‘*Con-*

* This was the real name of Long Island, as appears from deeds to *Wouter Van Twiller*, and others. It has been called *Matouwax* and *Paumunake*. These were local names on that island. (See Indian map and notes to this history.) *Sewan* was the name of Indian shell-money, *hacky*, or *hackink-on*, or *in the land*.—Delaware language.

† Dr. Belknap was therefore mistaken (*American Biography*, life of *Gorges*, Prefatory Essay) in attributing to *Thomas Dermer*, the first exploration, in 1619, of Long Island Sound, and the determination of the insular situation.

‡ *Groot Buti*—Long Island Sound.

§ *Christiaanse Eylandt* was the name given to *No-Mans-Land*, then called by the English *Martha’s Vineyard*, which name has been since attached to a large island in the vicinity of *No-Mans-Land*. *Blok island* retains its name.

|| Opposite *Norwalk* in Connecticut.

¶ Or *Archipel*, as truncated—the name, also, of the *Ægean Sea* between Greece and Asia, and improperly applied to the aggregate of islands.

** *Rooden-Bergh rivier*, or, according to *De Laet*, *Rivier van den Roy-enberch*.

†† Embracing *Rood* (red) *Eylandt*, whence *Rhode Island*. Dutch records:

necticoot or *Sickagothe*, which from its freshness was named *Versche rivier*.* This river was thoroughly explored. It was inhabited by a numerous Indian population, of which, one of the tribes, named *Nawas*, had, in the latitude $41^{\circ} 48'$, a town fortified against the inroads of enemies.†

It is presumed that the two navigators, having completed their discoveries, fishing, and traffic with the natives of these islands, coasts, and rivers, retired in the fall to the Great River, and under the superintendence of one or both, the first fortified settlement was there established. A redoubt‡ was raised (1614) on the small island before mentioned, designated by its fortification *Casteel Eylandt*,§ surrounded by a ditch eighteen feet wide, mounted by two brass pieces and eleven stone guns, (*steen stucken*), and garrisoned by a dozen soldiers. The *opper-hoofdt*, or chief commander, was *Christiaan*, and his lieutenant, or commissary of the licensed traders, was *Jakques Elckens*,|| who had been clerk to a merchant in Amsterdam.¶

The advantage of traffic and of arms induced the Mohawks to permit the erection of this fortification. These *men of blood*,** who had conquered or exacted tribute from some of the neighbouring tribes, had the sagacity to perceive, that by securing the friendship of the Hollanders, they might render

* Fresh river.

† De Laet does not name the discoverer of the Connecticut, but says, "Blok with his yacht sailed through Hell-gate into the Great bay, and examined all the places about it, and sailed to Cape Cod," &c. It is possible he explored this river before he met Christiaan. Trumbull, in his history of Connecticut, says it is uncertain who discovered this river. But Hubbard admits the Dutch discovered it, (*History New Eng.* ch. I.—see vol. v. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, (N. S.) p. 13, 170.) He certainly cannot be charged with partiality towards "the beast of trade," the "*Hogen Mogens* and *bewintehbbers*," as he terms them.

‡ See note (156).

§ Castle Island, just below Albany ferry.

|| De Laet, 1625. The name by Lambrechtsen (1318) is *Jakob Helkens*.

¶ De Vries—MS. copy.

** *Mohocht* means blood in their language: a title peculiarly appropriate, as will be shown in the supplemental history of the five nations.

their acquired superiority durable, and their ferocious bravery terrible to those who, in alliance with the founder of Quebec, were still entertaining the haughty but delusive hope of exterminating them and their confederates of the five nations. They could not foresee their own desolation as a people, in the ultimate effect of a measure, which virtually transferred the sovereignty over their country; and their numbers, peculiar relations and condition were, therefore, far better adapted to guaranty the unmolested progress of a colony, had colonization been contemplated by the Dutch, than the only two North American colonies from Europe had yet experienced in Virginia and Canada.

The Indians of Manhattan, descendants of the once warlike Minsi tribe of the Lenni Lenape, were not inattentive to a policy so obvious, and so ambitious. They might despair of regaining the boasted ascendancy of their tribe and nation; but hereditary hatred towards the five nations, aggravated by the tradition of former greatness, or even the rival jealousy of traffic, would predominate over their reluctance to permit a fortified entrenchment. The following year (1615) they allowed a redoubt to be thrown up and fortified, on an elevated spot on the west bank of the river, near the southern extremity of the island.* The licensed trading company had now possession of the two most important positions on the river. That on Manhattan was the principal rendezvous for their ships; and thence, with furs collected from all the neighbouring rivers and coasts, their vessels departed annually for Amsterdam.

In the progress of an establishment, so purely military and commercial, and so single in the range of its commerce, few incidents could have transpired worthy of record, and probably none which could elevate in moral or intellectual dignity, the character of these pioneers of colonization. In communities where all the lights of science and religion are perfectly

* On the site of the Macomb houses in Broadway, New-York, according to tradition, as related by the Rev. John N. Abeel, in MSS. of New-York Historical Society.

accessible, and the widest scope is offered to the noblest efforts of intellect and to the generous energies of philanthropy, we find men with minds so infected with the idolatry of avarice as to despise all illumination but that of the golden altar : with hearts so palsied by the unhallowed devotion, as to resist every expansive and touching impress. They admit no sentimental refinement, upon the plain maxim of gainful Carthage—no ethic restriction upon the vantage ground of sagacious speculation—no limitation to the imperious creed of victorious extortion.* They recognise no moral sublimity or beauty in a monumental fame, purchased by public munificence and secured by public gratitude—or in that celebrity which the father tells to his children, or in the impassioned praises of private gratitude when the name of benefactor is uttered, or in that still voice of active emulation, which, kindling into enthusiasm from the influence of authority, without the necessity of precept, conveys to the author of great deeds and good qualities the delicacy of reward without the grossness of compliment. They listen to no voice of humanity, when to bless and be blessed would be the mighty gain for a little subtraction from the mass, which even spendthrift prodigality could hardly exhaust ; and seldom do they betray by accident, and by design never, one solitary attribute of excellence, to vindicate the nobility of human nature, from the perishable worthlessness of their names and general example. When men so situated, and so actuated, are not unfrequently seen in the ranks of polished and enlightened society, what either illustrious in virtue or signal in action could be expected from those whose object was gain, and nothing else ? who, in its precarious pursuit, had abandoned the fire-sides and endearments of their native country ; whose location was irresponsible to authority, because beyond the pale of law, and whose intercourse with the natives, or with each other, must, therefore, have been governed by motives of fear and policy, rather than by principle.

* ————Sed que reverent legum?

Quis metus, aut pudor est unquam properantis avari? JUVENAL.

There was, however, one political measure deserving a memorial:—the alliance by a formal treaty with the *Five Nation Confederacy** or *united people*.† Prior intercourse between the Dutch and at least one of those nations, had been regulated by that informal good understanding which arose from their peculiar circumstances, from mutual fear, hope, palpable interest and obvious necessity.

In 1617 the Dutch were obliged to abandon their fort on Castle Island, in consequence of the high floods. They removed about four miles south, to the shore of a creek called by them Nordtman's kill, where they erected a new fortification, and where the treaty, probably about the same time, was concluded in the primitive solemnity which characterised the public transactions of the Indians. The importance attached to the treaty, by the five nations, was evinced by the delegation of those chiefs, who bore the names or titles which had a century previously distinguished the deputies that formed that confederacy; in commemoration of which it was then stipulated, that one chief of each nation should always wear the same name or title.‡

The Lenni Lenape and Mahiccans, say they were also invited by the *Sankhicanni*, or Mohawks, the prime movers of the treaty; that the belt of peace was laid over their shoulders, as the nation of women; that one end of the long belt was to be held fast by the Dutch, the other by the warlike nations. Here the tomahawk was trampled into the earth, the Dutch declaring they would erect a church over it, and that none should dig it up without overturning the edifice, and incurring the resentment of its builders.§ The treaty was preserved in good faith, and became highly important to the tranquil prosperity of the Dutch, and highly conducive to

* Keaunctioni.

† Agonnosionni.

‡ The names were *Tekanawitagh*, of the Kayingahaga, (Mohawks)—*Otatshighte*, of the Onecayoté, (Oneidas)—*T'hatodarho*, of the Ononda-agaes, or O-non-dan-gohs—*S'honōnawendōwane*, of the Kai-u-gues or Cahugas—*Kanniadariorh* and *S'hadekarōnyes*, of the Chenandoanes, (Senecas.)

§ See note (157.)

the ascendancy which the united people maintained, and the terror they inspired among other Indians of North America.

The security thus guaranteed, the increasing profits of trade, and the natural advantages of the country, were favourable to the enlargement of settlements. It has been asserted that about this period some Hollanders settled among the Esopus Indians, others in 1618, in the rich and extensive vale of *Talpahockin*,* and others in 1620, on the great plain†, which was an ancient seat of the immediate allies of the Dutch.‡ It is nevertheless extremely problematical, whether at the last date any Dutch family was settled in the country which Hudson discovered from the bay of the South river§ to New Holland. Agents of the company may have resided at the above-mentioned places to promote trade, cultivate harmony, and learn the language of the Indians. But the foundation of a permanent colony had not been comprehended among the ambitious plans of the Hollanders, for reasons which in part have been assigned. Another cause may have co-operated to deter them from thus appropriating the country—the title to it which England traced to the discovery of the Cabots. Though there is not any evidence that they saw the coast near Manhattan, yet it was comprehended in the English claim to almost all North America, and was patented by Queen Elizabeth under the general denomination of Virginia. This was subdivided by her successor into North and South Virginia, three years before Hudson's discovery.|| As the patentees were enjoined in the patents, from settling their respective colonies within one hundred miles of each other, it resulted, that the Manhattan was virtually left by that sin-

* The country south of the Highlands, forming the vale of New-Jersey and Pennsylvania. It is said that in 1618 a settlement was at Bergen in *Scheyichbi*, or New-Jersey.

† Connughhariegughharie—city of Schenectady.

‡ See note (158.)

§ *Zuydt rivier*, the Dutch name of the Delaware.

|| See Intro. † 23. 40.

gular provision, *vacuum domicilium*, and if the injunction had not been given before Hudson's discovery, it might have been construed as an intentional concession of King James in favour of his republican friends.* But the policy of that monarch was averse to any such concession. This is apparent from the displeasure manifested, when it was ascertained that Hudson, a native of England, had effected the discovery in the service of the Hollanders; from the inconsistent claim the English made to the discovery by virtue of his nativity;† from the name of the Hudson which they gave to the river discovered; and from the title to it, which they asserted upon every occasion, and vindicated, in one instance, at a very early date, by force of arms, if credit is due to the story of Captain Argall's conquest of the Dutch settlement in 1614. In the month of March of that year, Sir Thomas Gates, one of the patentees of South Virginia, left its government to Sir Thomas Dale, and retired to England. Captain Samuel Argall, pursuant to Governor Dale's commission to him, accomplished an expedition directed against Port Royal in Canada,‡ returned to Virginia with the spoils of his conquest, and sailed in June to England.§ If to the conquest of the French he added that of the Dutch, this must have been achieved between March and June. It has been remarked, that prior to

* See a "Declaration and Manifestation by way of Speech," (N. Y. Historical Collections, III. 375.) Governor Stuyvesant's Ambassadors to the Court of Lord Baltimore, were therefore mistaken in saying that King James had made this provision as an allotment for the Dutch plantation.

† See Intro. § 53, p. 278, 276.

‡ Or Acadia. The French claimed the country in collision to the English title, and say that the Basques discovered Newfoundland and Canada 100 years before Columbus. Le Beau, tom. I. 43.

§ Capt. Smith's History of Virginia, London, 1629 (reprinted in Richmond, Virginia.) Gates departed March 1614, (vol. 2, p. 22,) left the government to Dale, (p. 18,) and Argall after his expedition against the French, sailed towards England in June (p. 23) and Dale with Pocahontas and her husband went to England in 1616. (Smith, p. 26, &c. 33.) This settles the date of the expedition which by others has been placed at periods earlier and later than 1614. (See Priuce's Annals. Belknap's Biography. Douglass' Summary, &c.)

March, when the decree of the States gave political existence to the licensed company, transient navigators may have erected huts on the Manhattan, but it has also been apparent that Christiaanse could not probably have arrived at Manhattan, from Holland, in time for Argall's alleged conquest to take effect through the submission of the former. The relation is this: that Argall on his return from the north, landed upon Manhattan, found four houses and a pretended Dutch governor, whom he informed that his commission required him to expel all intruders, exacted from him a written submission to the crown of England and government of Virginia, compelled him to pay the expenses of his voyage, and on arriving in Virginia deposited the letter of submission including a promise of tribute, in the archives of that colony.* Captain Smith, the same

* The following seems to have been the earliest account of this conquest.

"Virginia being granted, settled, and all that part now called Maryland, New-Albion, and New-Scotland, being part of Virginia, Sir Thomas Dale and Sir Samuel Argoll, captains and counsellors of Virginia, hearing of divers aliens and intruders, and traders without license, with a vessel and forty soldiers, landed at a place called Mount Desert, in Nova Scotia, near St. John's River, or Twede, possess by the French, there killed some French, took away their guns, and dismantled the fort, and in their return landed at Manhata-Isle in Hudson's river, where they found four houses built, and a pretended Dutch governor, under the West-India Company of Amsterdam share or part; who kept trading boats, and trucking with the Indians; but the said knights told him, their commission was to expel him and all aliens, intruders on his majesty's dominions and territories; this being part of Virginia, and this river an English discovery of Hudson an Englishman; the Dutchman contented them for their charge and voiage, and by his letter sent to Virginia and recorded, submitted himself, company, and plantation to his majesty, and to the governor and government of Virginia." (Beauchamp Plantaganet's "Description of the province of New-Albion, and a direction for adventurers with small stock to get two for one, and good land freely," &c. London 1648. *Note.* This scarce work is in the Loganian library, Philadelphia, and is the first English account of the country, now New-Jersey and Pennsylvania.)

The facts stated in the above extract, are incorrect in many particulars. But the author was labouring to vindicate the English title to New Netherland, and support the patent from King Charles to Sir Edmond Plowden,

season, sailed to North Virginia, which he quaintly called the "Virgin's Sister," constructed a rude map of the coast from Cape Cod to Penobscot, and named the country New-England. He and Argall may have met Christiaanse and Blok, or their fishing party at Cape Cod, and considering them as much intruders on this coast as the French at Fort Royal, may possibly have enforced a submission—for it is said,* that the Dutch in their northern fisheries were so much molested by the English during the armistice, that repeated but ineffectual remonstrances were made by the ambassador of the United Provinces to the court of James. But if Argall compelled Christiaanse or Blok, either before or after they arrived at Manhattan, to submit to a superior force, would not Captain Smith, then in the Council of Virginia, have been apprised of the conquest? In his account of the expedition, he is entirely silent in relation to the Dutch, and so are his contemporaries.† Admitting the story to be true, and yield-

which included Pavonia (New-Jersey) and was resisted by Governor Keift and Governor Stuyvesant, as well as by Governor Printz of New Sweden, on the Delaware. The patent is described in the history of Van Twiller's administration.

Upon this authority, thirty-four years after the supposed conquest, it seems that the story has been reiterated without contradiction, by many respectable names, of whom some however have varied the original account, by saying that Argall proceeded up the Hudson river and captured the fort commanded by Christiaanse. (See Ebeling's *Staats New-York*. Smith's *New-York*. Smith's *New-Jersey*. Marshall's *Washington*, I. 57. Chalmers's *Political Annals*. Holmes' *Annals*. Stith's *History of Virginia*, p. 133.)

The last writer (Stith) might have been conclusive, had he published the written submission which is said to have been deposited; for it seems (see a letter of Mr. Jefferson in MSS of N. Y. Historical Society) he had full access to those early records of Virginia, which were burnt in the public office at Williamsburgh.

Some of the foregoing writers say, that the year after Argall's hostile visit, a new Dutch governor arrived at Manhattan, and threw off all subjection to Virginia, &c. If the whole statement be not an error, this part of it might coincide with what I conceive was the fact, that Christiaanse having arrived the fall previously, did in 1615, erect a redoubt on that Island.

* De Witt.

† De Laet, who relates Blok's voyage, speaks of Christaanse, and describes New Netherland in 1625, (*Beschryvinghe van nieuw wereld*, &c.)

ing to it its full effect, to what does the supposed conquest amount? The governor of Virginia, in a period of profound peace, attacked the French and Dutch, without the previous authority or subsequent sanction of the English government. Christiaanse the chief officer of the Amsterdam licensed company, acting here within the scope of privileges limited by the edict of the States-General, was forced to submit to the governor of Virginia, and promised to pay the English a duty on beavers. All this may have been true, and still the title from priority of discovery and possession would remain unimpaired, until the States-General should officially surrender the same. But the States, it has been further affirmed, caused an application to King James for licence to erect huts for the accommodation of their fleets sailing, during this period of public tranquillity, to the West-Indies—that the permission was granted—that the name of Staten-Island,* or States-Island, arose from this incident—that the Dutch settlement was distinguished as New-Virginia, because it was dependent on old Virginia, and that the Dutch having cunningly obtained possession, finally threw off all disguise and boldly claimed the country.† Such conduct would have betrayed the subtle struggles of imbecility, or the conscious want of rectitude, seeking by stratagem and duplicity the attainment of an object, which though partly conceded through favour, yet was withheld as a right; and in either case would appear quite inconsistent with that uncompromising fearlessness and acknowledged integrity, that signalized the Dutch character at this era of its history. The course which the States-General adopted, in respect to the country, will be exhibited as open and unequivocal in the year

is silent. So Purchas in 1625—Harris in his *Collection of Voyages*, II. 839, 851, and other early writers. Governor Bradford of New Plymouth in 1627, alludes to Argall's expedition in his correspondence with the Dutch governor, warns him to avoid the Virginia ships, but does not pretend to any knowledge of this supposed prior conquest over the Dutch. (See his Letter Book. Mass. Hist. Collections, III. 51, &c.)

* *Staten-Eylandt*. The Indian name was Aquehonga Manacknong. Book of Patents, vol. iv. in the office of the Secretary of State of N. York.

† See Holmes' *Annals*, I. 182, and authorities cited by him. Belknap in (*Life of Hudson*) *American Biography*.

1621. The question of title had not, probably, been agitated, either at the Hague or at London, and notwithstanding all the fabrications which the interested invented, the subject of them was, in all probability, a matter of indifference if not of ignorance, both to Prince Maurice and King James, or to their respective cabinets. The strife, if any, existed among their subjects; and the new world was left to the enterprise and industry of private adventurers.

The English however are entitled to the credit of having been the first to attempt to found a *Colony* on or near the Hudson, but failing in this design, they became distinguished as the founders of New England. The protestant non-conformists or puritans in England, under the Reverend John Robinson, persecuted in common with other dissenters, took refuge in Holland. They first sojourned in Amsterdam, and in the year of Hudson's discovery, removed to Leyden. Here they repaid the hospitality of their adopted country by strict obedience to laws and respect for political institutions to which they had not been accustomed, and while they thereby secured those personal privileges which rendered Holland so favoured a land, they enjoyed the fruits of an exemplary private life, in the kindness and good will of the community. No dissatisfaction therefore from any limitation of privileges, from any defect of public protection, or absence of private esteem influenced the determination which they formed to cross the Atlantic. They were Englishmen, whose national pride and prejudices—whose attachment to the institutions, language, customs, and manners of their native country, could not be extinguished because they had been driven thence by the intolerance of its hierarchy. The elder members of the church were one after another gathered to their fathers, the younger were inter-marrying with Dutch families, and all were gradually losing something of their national identity. Besides, Holland was a nation of heroes; war had become their pastime—and the interval of tranquillity which was almost terminated, was a period of busy and welcome preparation for a vigorous renewal of the contest. Though the puritans were exempt from the effects of that-spirit of persecution which,

upon the retrenchment by the States-General of their system of universal toleration, attacked the Remonstrants and Romanists, yet they were extremely anxious to preserve the doctrine and discipline of their church from all innovations, and the morals of the congregation from the contamination of prevalent licentiousness. As early as 1617, a portion of the congregation thought seriously of removing to Guiana or Virginia. The Hollanders urged them to go to the Hudson and settle under the Amsterdam trading company: where they would have been far safer in amity and alliance with the five nations, than in Virginia, exposed to the jealousy, or at least insecure in the doubtful and suspected friendship of Powhatan. They delayed their plan three years, and then concluded to go to the Hudson. But Providence, controlling and inscrutable in the mystery of its dispensations, was preparing for them, even in 1617, an abode which they never contemplated. The devastation of one people was making way for the reception of another. A spot in the wilderness of the new world was, for wise and beneficent purposes, to receive the choice population of Europe. In New England were these chosen people to display their patience—preserve their religion, disseminate it, and found an empire of civilization and Christianity. In 1620, a part of Mr. Robinson's church resolved to remove. They converted their property into common stock, purchased one ship, freighted another, and taking an affectionate farewell of their pastor, who held out to them the hope of soon following with the rest of the congregation, they departed from Holland, and by the way of England sailed for the Hudson river. They encountered storms, and were driven back. They resumed their voyage, and in November arrived upon the coast which Hudson had named New-Holland. They now consulted with Captain Jones who had contracted to take them to the Hudson, and accordingly altered the direction of their ship. The next day they found themselves among breakers and shoals; another violent tempest arose, the season was considered too late and the coast too dangerous for them to persevere; wherefore they returned to Cape Cod, and after some further search in its

vicinity, selected a spot whereon they laid the foundation of New Plymouth, and the first effectual colonization of New England.*

* One of the earliest and impartial authorities, to support the assertion that the Pilgrims designed to proceed to Hudson river, is Thomas Dudley, deputy governor under governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts, who arrived only ten years after the landing of the Pilgrims. In a letter "To the Right Honourable, my very good Lady, the Lady Bridget Countess of Lincoln," dated Boston, March 1631, and published in a small pamphlet, entitled "Massachusetts, or the first planters of New England:—the *end* and *manner* of their coming thither, and abode there: in several epistles. Boston in New-England. Printed 1696." Dudley informs her ladyship, that "concerning the English that are planted here: I find that about the year 1620, certain *English* set out from *Leyden* in *Holland*, intending their course for *Hudson's* river. These being much weather-beaten, and wearied with seeking the river, after a most tedious voyage, arrived at length in a small bay lying north-east from *Cape Cod*; where landing about the month of December, by the favour of a calm winter, such as was never seen here since, began to build their dwellings in that place, which now is called New-Plymouth: where, after much sickness, famine, poverty, and great mortality, (through all which God, by an unwonted Providence) carried them) they are now grown up to a people, healthful, wealthy, politic and religious."

Nathaniel Morton, "an approved godly man, one of the first planters," and afterwards "Secretary to the Court for the Jurisdiction of New-Plymouth," asserts in his "New-England Memorial, or account of the first planters," published in 1669, that after they had been driven by storms to return to England, (whither they proceeded after leaving Holland,) they at last came to Cape Cod, when, after some deliberation with the master, they tacked southward "to find some place about Hudson's river (according to our first intentions;)" but they had not sailed that course more than half a day, when they "fell amongst perilous shoals and breakers, and became so entangled and the wind shrinking, we turned back and reached the Cape next day, being November 1620." But although they had put in here partly on account of a storm, yet the principal cause, says Morton, of their coming here was the fraudulent conduct of Captain Jones, "for our intention and his engagement was to Hudson's river; but some of the Dutch having notice of our intentions, and having thoughts of erecting a plantation there likewise, fraudulently hired Jones, by delays while in England, and now under pretence of the dangers of the shoals," &c. to disappoint them in their going thither. "*Of this plot betwixt the Dutch and Mr. Jones, I have had late and certain intelligence: but God out-shoots Satan oftentimes in his own bow, for had we gone to Hudson's river, as be-*

Their original design towards the Hudson was not to disturb the Dutch in their possessions: the pacific tendency of their character would render a contrary suggestion revolting and incredible. They did not intend to mingle with the

fore expressed, it had proved very dangerous to us on account of the multitude of pernicious savages, whereas the place where we came had been depopulated by a great mortality among the natives, two years before our arrival," &c. Morton's Memorial, p. 15, 16. See History of the Puritans, or Protestant non-conformists, &c. by Daniel Neal, M. A. London, 1744. See also, Prince's New England Chronology, p. 83, 84: Hutchinson's Massachusetts, vol. II. p. 405, 406, 407 in Appendix; vol. I. p. 11: Holmes' Annals, vol. I. p. 162, 253, N. (2): Massachusetts Hist. (N. S.) Collect. III. 89. Mr. Morton published this statement, as the title of his book imports, "for the use and benefit of present and future generations;" yet the fact should be borne in mind, that the date of the publication was five years only after the conquest of New Netherland by the English; and while this event, and the question of right and title between the Dutch and English, and the prior encroachments of the *Plimothians* (as Dudley calls the Pilgrims) on Connecticut river and Long Island, called forth many violent and contradictory statements. It was at least due to the Dutch character, and to the reputation of the captain who had safely brought over the pilgrims, to have given names, dates, and circumstantial proof, or at least the source of his authority, when a charge of this description was hazarded. It may safely be placed in rank with that class of errors originating sometimes from design and sometimes from mistake, which grew out of the controversy between the English and Dutch, respecting the first discovery and settlement and title to New Netherland, and the quarrels with the New England people as to its limits. "For admitting (as Abm. Yates says in a letter to Dr. Morse, in 1793, now in the MSS. of the New-York Historical Society) that was their serious intention, (to set up a government and make a settlement under the Virginia company on Hudson's river) will it not then follow that they intended to commence their settlement in dispute and quarrel? When there was abundant room east and south of the Dutch, and the example of Abraham and Lot staring them in the face, and that without a colour of reason to men of sense (for such they were.) They confessed that when they were in Holland they were kindly used, and that when it became public that they intended for America, the Dutch laboured to persuade them to go to Hudson's river, and settle under their West India company. If they had accepted the offer, their civil and religious liberties would have been equally secure, at least the difference was not worth quarrelling about. The Orange family formerly were not more dangerous in Holland than the Stuarts in England. Being both Calvinists, there was no difference in their religion, other than in rev-

Dutch and reside under their government, for they left Holland to preserve their national identity, and had obtained through their agent in England, from the Plymouth Company or the English government, the promise of a patent which they received the year after the revocation of the Plymouth patent in 1620, and the grant of that which formed the civil basis of all others in New England. Their plan, as developed by one of the pilgrims, was "to find a place for their colony about Hudson's river," to become neighbours adjoining the Dutch, and therefore they had it in contemplation to locate themselves between the Hudson and the Connecticut river, or between the river of the Red Mountain,* and the Manhattan. The story related by one of the pilgrims,† of a plot contrived by the Dutch and abetted by captain Jones, to delay the departure of the congregation till late in the season, and then under pretence of shoals and dangers to take them a distance from the Dutch settlement, is one of those idle tales which the warmth of a controverted claim to the country, and the strength of confirmed prejudices might engender among men of character even more unexceptionable than that of the excellent fathers of New England. When they crossed the Atlantic, navigators generally were ignorant of the coast and its dangers, and the rage of the elements is at all times beyond the control of the most skilful. The Dutch had now undoubtedly a design of planting a settlement more numerous, more

pect to human inventions, which gave rise to the reflection that the one in its operation gave too great a tone to licentiousness, and the other to superstition. With respect further to the persecutions and emigrations, particularly of the Puritans in the reigns of Elizabeth, James, Charles, &c. see Abbe Raynal's *British Settlements in America*, vol. I.; *Account of European Settlements in America*, vol. II.; Wagenaar *Beschryv. van Amsterdam*; Lambrechtsen's *Kort Beschryvinge*, &c.; Robertson's *America*; Hazard's *Collections*, vol. I. *Extracts from Plymouth Records*; Bozman's *Maryland*, sec. VIII. and IX.; Lady Morgan's *Salvator Rosa*, vol. I. p. 358, &c.

* Housatunnuk. In *l'Histoire Generale des Voyages*, tom. XXI. 280-1, it is said "the Puritans who went to New England, had proposed to themselves to choose for their plantation the land which is between Connecticut and Hudson's river, near the county of Fairfield."

† Morton. See note p. 354.

powerful, and more permanent than had hitherto been contemplated ; but this was to be effected under auspices far too formidable, to admit the necessity of resorting to any puny device to remove from them a few inoffensive men, whom they had repeatedly urged to settle with them upon the Hudson. The Dutch were projecting the formation of one great national society, which should merge into itself the Amsterdam Licensed Trading Company, and all its rights to the trade or territory of the new world ; be able by its power and resources to establish fortifications and settlements on a stronger and more enlarged basis—prosecute commerce in a more comprehensive and systematic manner—and particularly aid the republic in protecting its interests from piracy, and in conducting the war against Spain with energy and effect. The two last mentioned objects involved the principal causes of the foundation of the celebrated privileged West Indian Company of the United Netherlands.

CHAPTER III.

1621 to 1623. The past armistice and impending war—involving the causes of the organization of the Privileged West-Indian Company. When founded. Its principal features as important to be noticed in this History. The commencement of the operations of the Company—Its attention towards the Great river. Capt. Mey's voyage. The actual and relative condition of the settlers on Manhattan. The arrival of the first ship of the West-Indian Company. The name of New Belgium, &c. bestowed on the country—Its limits. Local names. First settlement on South river. Fort Nassau. Fort Amsterdam. Fort Orange, &c.

DURING the past twelve years truce, the confidence inspired by this interval of tranquillity, cherished the commercial genius of the people, while the dismantling of ships of war multiplied the temptations to piracy by diminishing the power of protecting commerce, and throwing out of public employ a multitude of necessitous seamen. Many who had faithfully served under the banner of the republic, followed now in the same inglorious career which rendered the expelled Moors from Spain so formidable to commercial Europe. The United Provinces in vain exhorted England and France to co-operate in exterminating piracy. The former, more interested on the seas than all other European powers, were therefore the greatest sufferers. The States-General ordered their admiralty to send out ships almost every year, from 1614 to 1621, but the mischief, nevertheless, augmented until it became insufferable.* The absolute necessity of a more concentric union of individual co-operation with national strength, in order to diminish, if not entirely to suppress this evil, was, therefore, one cause of the creation of the West-Indian Company. as is evident from the preamble to its charter. But, as appears from its principal provisions and

* Such was the frequency of piracies (according to *De Witt*, part 2, chap. I,) that the Algerines, in 1620 and 1621, within thirteen months, captured ships of Holland alone, 143 sail: Amsterdam computed its loss at 124 tons of gold, and the whole was estimated at 300 tons of gold !

the operations of the company, the main cause was founded in the policy of the States to secure the energetic prosecution of the impending war.

The year 1621 was the era of the establishment of this great national society. The grant from their High Mightinesses the States-General, was dated the third day of June 1621,* and contained forty-five articles. The component parts of the company, the immunities secured by the charter, the general nature and specific powers of the incorporated government exerciseable within the local, as well as throughout the transatlantic sphere of its activity, were the general features in the organization of this society, which may be viewed as important to our history. From a view of these, it may be determined how far the States assumed the right or title to the country discovered by Hudson, and how far they granted, reserved, or participated in its enjoyment.

All inhabitants of the United Provinces and other countries might become members.† The States-General were not only parties to the charter, but members, and, like others, were to advance funds, participate in profit and loss, and be represented in the direction;‡ but no members could withdraw

* Chalmers says, in his *Political Annals*, &c. Lond. 1730, p. 569, (he cites *Corps Diplomatique*, 5 v. 2d part, p. 363, and Leonard) that this famous company was established in June 1620. So Ogilby's *History of America* 1672; Douglass' *Summary*, and Oldmixon in his *British Empire in America*, p. 118—(all, except Chalmers, very loose and doubtful authorities.)

But see the grant itself, or "Octroy By de Hooge Moghende Herren Staten Generael, verleent aen de West-Indische Compagnie, in date den derden Juny 1621; in the "Placaet Boek," I. 566, &c.; in "Historie ofte Jaerlyck Verhael van de verrichtinghen der geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie," &c. door Joannes de Laet Bewint-hebber der selver compagnie tot Leyden, anno 1644; in "Zaken van Staet en Oorlogh In, ende omtrent de Vereenigde Nederlanden Door de Heer Luenwe van Aitzema, in 'S Graven-Haghe," 1670; and see a translated copy of the grant in Hazard's *Collections*, vol. I. 121.

† Charter, Article xxiv.

‡ Art. xxix. xlii. xl. xviii.

themselves or their funds during the time of the grant,* nor any new members admitted after the period therein specified.†

For the term of twenty-four years, “no natives or inhabitants of these countries, unless in the name or by permission of this United Company of these United Netherlands, should sail or traffic to or on the coast and countries of *Africa*, from the tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, nor in the countries of *America* or the *West-Indies*, beginning at the south end of Terra Nova by the streights of Magellan, La Maire, or any other streights and passages thereabouts, to the streights of Anian, as well on the north sea as the south sea, nor on any islands situate on the one side or the other, or between both; nor in the western or southern countries between both the meridians, from the Cape of Good Hope, in the east, to the east end of New Guinea, in the west, inclusive; and whoever should presume to sail or traffic in any of the places within the aforesaid limits granted to this company, should forfeit the ships and goods there found for sale, which being actually seized by the company, should be kept for their own benefit.”‡

The States engaged to defend the company against every person in the freedom of navigation and traffic within those limits, and assist them with a million of guilders.§ They delegated the prerogative of resolving on peace or war||—and if the company should be driven to hostilities by any violent and continued interruption to their commerce, the States engaged to assist with sixteen ships of war—the least of the burden of three hundred tons,¶ with four yachts—the least of eighty tons, all armed and equipped; to be supported at the expense of the company, and commanded by an admiral appointed with their advice by the States, to act in obedience to their mutual commands and resolutions.** But the company were to supply, unconditionally, sixteen ships and four-

* Twenty-four years;—but at the end of that term the charter was renewed.

† Art. xvii.

‡ Art. i.

§ Art. xxix.

|| Art. xix.

¶ “150 lasts.”

** Art. xl.

teen yachts of like tonnage, 'for the defence of trade and all exploits of war,' which, with all merchant vessels, was to be commanded by an admiral appointed and instructed as above.*

The government of the company was vested in five chambers or departments of managers or directors. The chamber of Amsterdam having the direction of four ninth parts, was represented by twenty directors : that of Zealand, two ninths, by twelve directors : that of Maeze, of North Holland, of Friesland with the city and country,† each one ninth, and each by fourteen directors : provinces and cities without chambers might have as many directors divided among them, as they should be entitled to by the respective deposits of one hundred thousand guilders in the funds.‡

All general meetings of chambers were composed of an assembly of nineteen directors, eight of the department Amsterdam, four of Zealand, two of each of the other chambers : the nineteenth director represented the States-General, who might depute an additional number if they should deem it advisable, "to assist in directing the meetings of the company."§ This college or assembly of the nineteen were to manage, and finally settle all the business of the company, excepting when 'resolving on war they should ask the approbation of the States.'||

The company might enter into 'contracts and alliances with the princes and natives of the land ;' and were obligated to advance the settlement, encourage population, and 'do all that the service of thos fruitful countries and the profits and increase of trade would require.'¶ To protect their

* Art. xl. As to prizes, see art. xlii.—The States received one tenth, after paying the admiral, one tenth to officers and soldiers and all expenses of troops, fortifications, &c.

† *Stadt en Lande*.

‡ Art. xi. xii. and the amplification of the charter in Feb. 1643. By art. xiii. each director of Amsterdam should have interest of 6000 guilders, and each of the others, 4000. As to commission to directors, see art. xxviii-ix.

§ Art. xviii.

|| Art. xix.

¶ Art. ii. iii.

trade and possessions, they might erect and garrison forts and fortifications. To distribute justice, preserve order, maintain police, and administer the general, civil, and military government of their transmarine affairs, they might appoint a governor in chief or director-general, commanders and all officers civil and military, judicial and executive—who should take an oath of allegiance to the States as well as to the company.* But having chosen a governor in chief and prepared instructions, he was to be commissioned and his instructions approved by the States.†

The charter was amplified in some respects unimportant to notice, in June 1622 and February 1623. On the 20th June, 1623, the managers and principal adventurers adopted articles, approved by the States, of internal regulation, and the same year closed their books of subscription.

During the interim, the Greenland company was created, (1622) and the charter of the East-India company renewed, (1623.) Thus the northern seas, Asia, Africa, and America, were partitioned to three armed associations, possessing powers nearly coextensive with those of the republic. The States-General, thus relieved from the unpopularity of forced means to protect commerce, had the unembarrassed direction of all land and naval operations ; the Greenland company was to defend the northern fisheries against any future molestation by England or Denmark ; the East-India company was to complete its magnificent empire in Asia ; and the great national society was to cherish and extend commerce, found colonies, crush piracy, and while it was to strike a blow fatal to the power and pride of the Spaniards and Portuguese in Africa and America, its daring enterprises were to signalise the names of the gallant heroes who should direct them, vindicate the cause of civil and religious liberty, and reflect upon the United Provinces an imperishable glory.

* Art. ii. v. vi. xl.

† Art. ii.

The society did not commence operations until 1623.* One of its earliest objects of attention was the Great river, which had been visited during fourteen years, and occupied nine years. To continue possession of the country, designate its boundaries, and promote trade in peltry, a ship with some settlers and necessary materials and supplies for forts, houses, troops, and residents, sailed from Holland, under the command of *Kornelis Jacobse Mey*.† Never was the arrival of a vessel more anxiously desired. Two years had elapsed since the last ship departed from Manhattan. The licensed company having been merged in the general society, and the operations of this suspended by protracted preparation, the settlers had awaited in vain the return-ship for the customary supplies of necessities from Holland. Their condition, therefore, became destitute. They had no communication with any American colonies, and if they possessed any knowledge of the existence and condition of the latter, they might have found objects of sympathy without the means of relief. Virginia had just suffered a massacre of four hundred men, women, and children. New-France, feeble and dispirited, trembled at its very gates upon a late irruption of the incensed Iroquois. New-Scotland,‡ recently patented to Sir William Alexander, had but one Scotch resident. Weston's colony in Massachusetts§ was saved from extermination through the vigilance of their more discreet and wary neighbours at Plymouth. These, though not excluded like the Dutch, from all intercourse with the parent country,|| were enfeebled and

* De Laet Beschryvingh, &c. b. iii. chap. 11. This is further evident from De Laet's History of the Company, which begins in 1623. *Historie ofte Jaerlyk Verhael van, &c. West-Indische Company, &c. Tot Leyden, 1644.*

† See note (159.)

‡ Nova Scotia.

§ Or, *Mais-Tchuseäg*, equivalent to the two Tartar words, *Mas-Tchudi*, that is, the *Country on this side of the hills*.

|| See Winslow's Journal 1623, or, Good News from New-England, (published in Purchas and in Mass. Hist. Collection, viii. 237.) See Christopher Levett's Voyage into New-England, begun in 1623, and ended in 1624. London, 1628.

wasted by sickness, dependent on the Indians for corn, and so recently settled in the country, that they believed New-England was like Old England, an island.*

Such was the condition of the North American colonies, and such the hopelessness of relief, had even the knowledge and means to seek it been possessed by the Dutch of Manhattan. Their friends were the Indians, whose magnanimity, when deserved, was seldom appealed to in vain; and whose hospitality, though sometimes ungratefully requited, was as free, if not unbounded, as the natural bounties of the waters, the air and the forests.† Secure in their friendship, the Dutch may have sometimes enjoyed in the calumet, the true nepenthe to dispel the loneliness and solitude of their weary hours; and if education and habit, parents of artificial necessities, had not rendered certain comforts and luxuries indispensable, they might have ranged the forest with the bounding elasticity of the natives, and robed in the simple garb of furs, have lived with them in contented forgetfulness of every artificial want, if not of every other country. But the Dutch had no thought of such an amalgamation. On the contrary, as we are informed,‡ some of those who had located on Staten Island, and often sailed thence in their little boats to visit their friends at Manhattan, were partly obliged, by the necessity of

* See the first sermon, &c. by Elder Cushman, in Hazzard's state papers, l. 147.

† "When you, (exclaimed an agrieved Indian Orator to the proposals of peace offered by Gov. Kieft) when you first arrived on our shores, you were sometimes in want of food. We gave you our beans and corn, and let you eat oysters and fish, and now for recompense you murdered our people." (He put down one little stick—this was one point of accusation.) "The men whom you in your first trips left here, to barter your goods till your return, were treated by us as we would have treated our eye-balls. We gave them our daughters to sleep with," &c. &c. De Vries' voyages, manuscript, in the Philadelphia manuscripts of the Library committee. Translated by Doct. G. Troost.

‡ "From Staten Island they went to Capsey, at the the old Battery at York, with little boats with sails, which afterwards served them for shirts, as the first shipping went back and was gone two years before they returned, which distressed the settlers exceedingly," &c. Tradition by Judge Mersereau. N. Y. Hist. MSS. Dr. Miller.

converting their sails into wearing apparel, and partly induced by the sympathy which in solitude and destitution endears the social tie, to remove to that island. Here month after month passed away in alternate hope and disappointment, and they might have sometimes foreboded the fate of that early Virginian colony, which perished through the neglect of the parent country. But their fears, their hopes, and their disappointments were at last ended. The first ship of the West Indian company arrived—and conjectural history, without any extravagance of fancy, might say that the roar of the signal gun, and the blast of the trumpet, as they resounded along the broken shores and elevated summits of the Manhattan, were to its anxious occupants more grateful than ‘the gale of spring that sighs on the hunter’s ear, when he awakens from dreams of joy, and has heard the spirits of the hill.’

The name of New Belgium, or New Netherland,* now bestowed upon the country, indicated in some degree the opinion of its comparative equality to the United Netherlands, in climate, soil, and navigable facilities, or its superior adaptation for a Netherland colony. The name was intended to comprehend the country discovered by Hudson; and though its boundaries became involved in doubt and controversy, yet as

* It was so called about this time, for De Laet in 1625, describes it under the name of “*Nieuw Nederlandt*.” “*Nova Belgica sive Nieuw Nederlandt*,” is the title inscribed on Vander Donck’s map in his *Beschryvinge van Nieuw Nederlandt*, &c. and in Blauw’s Atlas. The inscription on the map in De Laet, (Latin edition 1633) is “*Nova Anglia, Novum Belgium et Virginia*.” The next in 1638, appears under the same title in “*Gerardi Mercatoris Atlas or Geographick Description*,” &c. translated by Hexham. The first improved map of New Netherland, it is said, (by Du Simitiere in MS. notes in the Philadelphia Library) was by Nicolas J. Vischer, published in Amsterdam, entitled “*Novi Belgii novæ que Angliæ*,” &c. from which Vander Donck took his. The same with a few English names superadded, was copied by Ogilby in *History of America* 1671, in his map of New Netherland, New England, &c. inscribed “*Novi Belgii quod nunc Novi Jorck vocatur*,” &c. See also, Montanus, Dancker, Otters, Lambrechtsen, &c. from all which it appears that the limits of New Belgium were undefined, and consequently a fruitful source of controversy with neighbouring colonies, as will appear in the sequel.

apparently understood by the first director or governor, who will presently be mentioned, extended from the South river,* to the New Holland of the Dutch, or the Delaware to Cape Cod of the English. Hudson was certainly not the discoverer of this Cape, for Gosnold had named it seven years before. He discovered the bay of the South river, however, one year before Lord *De la War* saw it; and the various names which Dutch navigators afterwards gave to the coasts, bays and rivers, from the South Bay to New Holland, furnish presumptive proof that the Dutch were the earliest and most frequent visitors.

Upon the arrival of Captain Mey, with supplies and orders for erecting new fortifications, the bay of Manhattan was, in compliment to him, denominated *Port May*. This navigator, pursuing the track of Blok, appears to have examined the sea-board as far as the bays of Manomet† and Nassau,‡ and thence retrograding, judiciously selected for his own residence the fruitful banks of the *South river*§ as the finest part of New Netherland. The bay of that river, though usually denominated *South bay*,|| became known as New Port May,¶ its northern cape as Cape May, and its southern as Cornelius, from the name of that navigator. It is uncertain whether he settled here this year or the next, but fort Nassau was erected on this river (called also Nassau river) in 1623, and it is probable that he superintended its construction. The fort was on the eastern bank, at a point called *Tckûacho*,** a

* *Zuydt rivier*.

† Buzzard's Bay.

‡ Narraganset. Quere—Was Mey's ship the one which here went ashore in a storm, but was afterwards floated, to which Winslow in his Journal of this date, alluded? De Laet says Mey gave the name of Texel to the large island subsequently named Martha's Vineyard.

§ *Zuydt rivier*, also Nassau river, and afterwards Prince Hendrick's river. The English always called it the Delaware—the Swedes named it New Sweedland stream—the Indians Lennapewihittuck.

|| *Zuydt Baai*—the Delaware.

¶ *Nieuw Port Mey*.

** Gloucester Point. Acrelius *Nya Sverige*, Stockholm, 1759. Ehelings *Der Staat New-Jersey*, Hamburg, 1796.

few miles from *Kuequenaku*,* or the grove of the tall pine trees. The native residents of this fertile country, were the *Lenni Lenape* once numerous and formidable, but conquered in the beginning of this century by the five confederate nations, and compelled to submit to the humiliating condition of the female nation, or, in the figurative style of the Indians, to have their legs shortened, to be dressed in female apparel, to be adorned with ear-rings, to carry in one hand the calabash of oil and medicines, and hold in the other the seed corn and hoe.† With this people, whose national characteristic was that of peace-preservers, Captain Mey resided in uninterrupted harmony and mutual good will.‡

Two other forts were also commenced, if not finished this year—fort *New Amsterdam*§ and fort *Orange*.|| The first was on the Manhattan, south of the original redoubt, upon an elevated and commanding spot, near the confluence of the two rivers.¶ It was a mere block house, surrounded with red cedar palisades.** It is said†† that it was built under the superintendence of Hendrick Christiaanse, the early pioneer of the settlement, whose authority terminated with the political extinguishment of the licensed trading company, and of whom we have no historical information after this period.‡‡

Either at this time, or when this fort was subsequently remodelled, an occurrence happened, which in the absence of established and well regulated government, may have been passed by with impunity if not overlooked with indifference,

* Sounded *Koo-ek-wen-aw-koo*, (John F. Watson, Esq. MSS.) the Indian name of Philadelphia.

† See the curious ceremony on this occasion, in the Supplemental History of the five nations.

‡ See Note 160.

§ *T' Fort Nieuw Amsterdam op de Manhattans*. See view.

|| *T' Fort Oranje*, or (as De Laet renders it) *Port van Oragnien*.

¶ Directly south of the Bowling Green in New-York, on the side of the former government house.

** Many of these were dug up under the ruins of the old fort, in 1790-1, and led to this supposition of the materials of the original structure. John N. Abeel, MSS. of the N. Y. Hist. Society.

†† By Lambrechtsen, *Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlandt*, &c. Sed qu?

‡‡ Note 161.

but which, from the implacable nature of Indian revenge, tended eventually to involve the colony in great calamities. An Indian was murdered by a lawless bandit, and robbed of his beavers. A youth, the nephew of the unfortunate victim, witnessed the murder, and resolved to take vengeance of the Dutch when he should arrive at years of manhood. This he did effectually, as will be seen hereafter.

Fort Orange, so named from respect to the Prince of Orange, was erected on the west bank of the Hudson, about four miles north of the redoubt built in 1617 at Nordtman's kill. The river was named *Mauritius*, in honour of Prince Maurice, and *North River** in contra-distinction to *Southriver*. The fort was on the bend† of the shore at Skaghneghtady,‡ It is supposed to have been originally constructed like Fort Amsterdam, and improved afterwards upon a similar, though less extensive model. It was surrounded by a moat, and mounted the same number of guns, which in 1614 had constituted the ordnance of Castle Island.

Jaques Elckens was here retained in command, by the West Indian Company, and succeeded Christiaanse in authority as chief.§ The garrisons in forts Orange, Amsterdam and Nassau were each limited at first to a sergeant|| and his guard.¶

* *Noordt rivier*.

† Called *Fuyk*, i. e. *hoop* or *bow-net*. The house of Simeon De Witt, Esq. Surveyor General of the State of New-York, is upon the original site of the fort. Fuyk was the first name of the settlement around the fort, and Beaverwyck the second. *Renselaerwyck MSS.*

‡ (Albany) *Skaghneghtady* or *Schenectadea*.

§ Or, *Oppor hoofdt*.

|| Or, *Wacht meester*.

¶ Some authors (Smith's New-York : Ebeling's Staats New-York : A short account of the first Settlement of Virginia, Maryland, New-York, New-Jersey and Pennsylvania, by the English. London, 1735, &c.) have adopted an error in saying that another fort was this year erected on the Connecticut or Fresh river. (See under date of 1633.) As to the forts in 1623, see Dutch Records ; Gov. Stuyvesant's letter to Boston, &c. ; Representation of the Commons in New Netherland, 1650, quoted in Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlandts, 1662. 4to. Hague, (a manuscript translation of the last very scarce work is in the hands of the author, through the favour of Joseph P. Norris, Esq. Philadelphia) ; Rev. John N. Abeel's MS. Notes in MSS. of N. Y. Hist. Society ; De Laet, Lambrechtsen, Nedl's Hist. of New England, &c.

CHAPTER IV.

From 1623 to 1629. The first Governor and his officers. First emigrants. Waaloons. Settlement of Wal-bocht. First child born in New Netherland. Policy of West India Company. Slow progress of the Colony; exports from it. Slaves introduced. Reflections. Policy of the Company; their success; their imports to New Netherland; its trade and articles of Indian traffic. New Plymouth. The first commercial treaty and intercourse between that Colony and New Netherland; its benefits; the dependence of New Netherland upon the success of the West India Company; its famous capture of the silver fleet tends to the immediate colonization by the adoption of a charter of liberties and privileges, &c.

THE wisdom of these precautions, to secure the possession and trade of the country, was accompanied by the valour which was to ensure their stability. The West Indian Company in 1623 and 4 realized, by the capture of sixty-nine rich prizes from the public enemy, a reimbursement for all outfits, and additional means for the vigorous prosecution of their warlike and commercial operations. The college of XIX. assigned the management of the New Netherland commerce to the chamber of Amsterdam. This department now freighted two ships, in one of which arrived in New Netherland, its first Governor or Director, Peter Minuit.* Appointed by the college, sworn to the allegiance which was required by the charter to the company, instructed expressly or directed by the peculiar policy of his immediate principals, his administration was to be, what the names of his subordinate officers and the current of his affairs, evince it to have been, purely that of commercial government. As even this could not be conducted successfully without some local power, legislative, judicial and executive, the director and his officers of council, were to possess this power under the appellate supervision of their principals, whose immediate will, as expressed in their instructions, or declared in their marine and military ordinances, was to be the supreme law of New Netherland, excepting in cases not thus specifically pro-

* See note (162.)

vided for, when the imperial statutes of Charles V, the edicts, resolutions, and customs of the father-land, were to be received as the paramount rule of action.

* The gradation of subordinate authority and rank were—
1st. *Opper Koopman, or Opper Commis**: 2. *Onder Koopman, or Onder commis*: 3. *Koopman or Commis*: 4. *Assistant*. The duties of the Upper merchant, or chief commissary, combined under Governor Minuit, those also of book-keeper of monthly wages or secretary of New Netherland, and these offices were vested in Isaac de Razier, who is described by one of his contemporaries, as “a person of a fair and genteel behaviour.† He may have been of that class of French protestants, whose fathers fled from persecution and settled on the river Waal in Guelderland. The first emigrants under Minuit appear to have been from that famous province, and under the name of *Waaloons*, founded in 1625 the first permanent settlement beyond the immediate protection of the cannon of Fort Amsterdam. It is worthy of remark, that thus the first emigrants, and the majority of those who subsequently colonized New Netherland, came from that province, distinguished in the page of history, as the last that submitted to the Romans, and the first who threw off their yoke on the decline of the Roman empire.

The *Waaloons* settled on Long Island at a bend of the shore‡ opposite to Manhattan. They were the first who professionally pursued agriculture. Temporary locations for other purposes had been made at other places. But though the North river had been thoroughly examined, its courses,

* *Upper merchant, or chief commissary*, the words, as qualifying each other, explain themselves. *Koopman* literally is merchant, but it was here equivalent to a commissary for managing trade for others.

† Governor Bradford of New Plymouth in his letter book.

‡ *Wal-bocht*, near *Marechkuwieck* (or Brooklyn). Some respectable writers render the name *Waaloon bend*. *Wal-bocht* is the name as given invariably in ancient Dutch records. (See Indian and Dutch maps and notes to this history.)

islands, and creeks designated, yet *Haverstroo*,* *Kleverack*,† *Kinderhoeck*,‡ and others, were merely topographical names. The limited extent of settlements, the age, single condition, and peculiar pursuits of those who had arrived previously to 1625, may be partly inferred from the fact, that in the month of June of that year, the first child of European parentage, was born in New Netherland.§

The West Indian Company may not have been entirely inattentive to that provision of their charter, which required them to people and consult the interests of these fertile regions; but in their policy, commerce was paramount, agriculture subordinate, and manufactures incongruous, except as the latter supplied New Netherland with the materials for domestic consumption and of profit to the company. Circumstances arising from the peculiar condition and character of the Hollanders, still operated to retard colonization, and very few persons except those employed and paid by the company, in a civil and military capacity, had been induced to settle in New Netherland. De Laet, an enterprising director of that company, attracted the attention of the inhabitants of the United Provinces, by the publication this year, of his description of the New World.||

* Oat-straw.

† Clover-reach. See Introduction, § 50. p. 236.

‡ Children's-corner.

§ Sarah Rapaelje, daughter of Jan Joris Rapaelje, June 9th, 1625. (See family record in manuscripts of New-York Historical Society.) According to Judge Mersereau (MSS. N. Y. H. S.) Rapaelje had resided on Staten Island. He was the founder of Wal-bocht, and Sarah was the maternal ancestor of several families of Hansens and Bogerts. (See Furman's Brooklyn. Wood's first settlements of Long Island.) At the age of 31, she was a widow by the name of Sarah Forey, with seven children. Governor Stuyvesant and council, in consideration of her situation, and birth as the first child, granted the valley adjoining her patent. Dutch Records, letter P. or vol. xi. p. 332, in the office of Secretary of the State of New-York.

|| *Nieuwe Wereldt ofte Beschryvinghe van West Indien, &c.* Door Joannes de Laet Tot Leyden, 1625. There was a second edition, and two others in French and Latin.

He described New Netherland as admirably fitted for colonization. "It is a fine and delightful land, full of fine trees and also vines—wine might be made there, and the grape cultivated. Nothing is wanted but cattle, and these might be easily transported. The industry of our people might make this the most pleasant and fruitful land. The forests contain excellent ship-timber, and several yachts and small vessels have been built there." But this commendable interest in behalf of New Netherland, was unavailing to accomplish its colonization, until certain circumstances combined to induce De Laet himself, Killiaen Van Renselaer, and a few other directors, to unite for that purpose. Meantime, Governor Minuit prosecuted the main object of his administration, during the first year of which, (1624) the exports from New Netherland were 4700 beaver and otter skins, valued at 27,125 guilders,* in return to the chamber of Amsterdam, for the imports in two ships the same year to the amount of 25,569 guilders.† The whole imports within the first four years, from 1624 to 1627, inclusive, were estimated at \$46,207, and exports at \$68,507.‡

* \$11,302 8½ cents.

† \$10,653 75 cents.

‡ The imports by the two ships in 1624 into New Netherland were, 25,569 guilders;(a) in 1625, by several vessels, 3772 guilders;(b) in 1626, in two ships, 20,384 guilders;(c) and in 1627, by four ships, 56,170 guilders.(d) The exports of beavers and otters, from New Netherland to the West-Indian company department Amsterdam, the first year, were, 4700 beaver skins, valued at 27,125 guilders;(e) the second year were 5758 skins, at 35,825 guilders;(f) the third year, 8115 skins, at 45,050 guilders;(g) the fourth year, in two separate shipments, 7520 beaver skins and 370 otters, at 56,420 guilders.(h)

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

		Dolls. Cts.		Dolls. Cts.
1624	(a)	10,653 50	(e)	11,301 66½
1625	(b)	3,655	(h)	14,926 66½
1626	(c)	3,493 31¼	(i)	18,770 81
1627	(d)	23,404 18½	(k)	23,508 31
		<hr/> 46,206 99¾		<hr/> 68,507 45

In four years the trade increased one half, and the revenue exceeded the public expenditure one third. The customary fifty per cent. on the invoice of imports might, perhaps, be balanced by cash advances for wages. But to the balance in favour of the company, we must superadd the expense or value of public structures:—the forts, the custom-house in Fort Orange, the governor's house within Fort Amsterdam, the magazine* for stores, and the private buildings for the officers, soldiers, servants, and slaves of the company.†

Slaves, thus early, constituted a portion of the population, and their introduction cannot be contemplated with apathy. It was one of those features in the infancy of the settlement, which became distinguishing—not because slaves had been excluded from all other North American colonies, for Virginia had them—but because the circumstance shows how reckless was the spirit of gain, which, with its pervading genius and comprehensive energy, tainted the life blood and controlled the destinies of New Netherland. The Dutch, it is true, were not the first who invaded the peace, or, for the sake of slaves, fomented the quarrels of Africa, nor the first who, while implanting the barbed arrow, whose wound was to fester for ages, transfused its poison into the moral atmosphere of the new world. But those foremost champions of the liberties of Europe in the seventeenth century, were the first who entailed upon the fair portion of the new world which forms the sub-

* *Packhuys, or Magazyn.*

† It seems, from allusions made in the Dutch records, that slaves were here in 1626. Probably they were here earlier—for it is said that a Dutch ship brought some slaves to Virginia in 1620, and they were, perhaps, in New Netherland, concomitant with its first settlement. This must have been the case, if the following extraordinary fact be true. An obituary appeared in the newspapers (A.D. 1739-40) of the death of a negro at Smithtown, Long Island, reputed to have been 140 years old, who had declared that he well remembered when there were but three houses in New-York. The reader will reflect upon the unexampled growth of a city, which, while this note is penned, (1826) contains some inhabitants in whose youthful days, one person at least, recollected the time when there were three houses only.

ject of these pages, that curse which has been justly execrated by the friends of humanity and all advocates for the rights of man throughout the world. Whatever difficulty there may be to remedy an evil, which, though daily visible and tangible, is hardly susceptible of a radical cure ; yet in its inception and progress, when the mischief might have been grappled with in safety and success, there was, in its toleration, or rather in the conduct of its authors and abettors, a plain dereliction of the immutable principles of natural justice : principles which, whether on the coast of Labrador or Austral Asia—whether in Central Africa or Central Europe, sway the bosoms of men, and illustrate by their sovereignty and their development under various circumstances, an origin in abstract right, if not practical immutability. But the conduct of those who, while struggling to free themselves from the bigot and the tyrant, deliberately bound the chains which they had burst, around the defenceless and the unoffending, merits a tenfold execration. In such a case as this, the simultaneous example of other slave-trading nations, affords no apology. The enormity becomes aggravated by its hypocrisy : and no anomaly appears more detestable, than that of those, who, the moment they cease to be slaves, become tyrants.

To gratify the great national society of the Netherlands, armed and privileged in a glorious cause, the gold of Africa—the fur-trade of America—the monopoly of the commerce of the two continents—the liberal share, secured by charter, in the spoils of victory and conquest over the fleets and settlements of the national enemy, were all insufficient. The slave trade was superadded, and cupidity was allowed to batten on the miseries of an unfortunate race ; while the banner which had enlisted the sympathies, and the valour which had elicited the admiration of the world, were tarnished by the atrocious traffic. But after all, what can be expected otherwise than the strangest and most criminal inconsistency, when in the noble cause of liberty, the most generous motives come in conflict with the most selfish. When freedom and religion are made the causes of war, and the love of gain sub-

servient to its prosecution, the purity and philanthropy of the former are polluted, if not extinguished, amid the rapine and rapacity of the latter.

New Netherland, born republican, might have been nurtured in free principles, made the healthy and vigorous representative of the parent republic, and the depository for transmission to posterity of that liberty which was to expire at home. The infant colony, might, at least, have been saved from the contamination which rendered profession a mockery in practice. The West-Indian company were amply remunerated for all expenses and care which they bestowed; and if magnanimity in policy had prevailed over the unstatesman-like maxims of gain and loss, they might have added to their renown, the celebrity of founding the first republic in the new world. But actuated by different views, and calculating, the progressive profits of trade only, they now determined, if we may judge from the amount of their last transshipment, to carry to a fuller extent the commercial strength and spirit of the colony.

Since their brilliant commencement, they suffered within the last two years, reverses and misfortunes from the pirates, the Dunkirk free-booters, and the public enemy. But in 1627, the capture of thirty of the enemy's ships, under the batteries of St. Salvador, by Admiral Peter Pietersen Heyn, after an unequal conflict on his part, in which skill was seconded by the most obstinate heroism, gave renewed vigour to the company. These prizes were richly laden with sugar, tobacco, cotton, and some gold and silver.*

Sugar, linens, cloths, and stuffs of various fabric formed a part of the imports into New Netherland. Its trade was with the natives, who, as far as in Quebec and Tadousac, brought furs to Fort Orange. But to this chief mart of the province, the five nations introduced the greatest supplies. Fort Amsterdam was still the head-quarters, where ships rendezvoused, and whence smaller vessels coasted the country from New-port-May to the Flat Corner.† But the above men-

* De Laet Hist. van West. In. Co.

† *De Vlack-hoeck*; the Dutch name for Cape Malabar

tioned articles were unnecessary in the fur-trade, excepting cloth of a dark colour, suitable to the melancholy temperament of the Indians, who rejected fabrics in which the least whiteness in their texture was discoverable.* Cloth of this description, hoes, hatchets, awls, beads and other trinkets, looking glasses, Dutch trumpets in which the natives delighted, fire-arms, which originated a mischievous traffic with the Mohawks, were the articles for the Indian trade. The circulating medium was *seawan*.† This was manufactured

* Roger Williams' Key to the Indian language, Lond. 1643 ; reprinted in Massachusetts' Historical Collections.

† *Seawan*, was the name of Indian money, of which there were two kinds ; *wompam*, (which signifies *white*) and *suckauhock*, (*sucki* signifying *black*.) *Wompam* or *wompampeague*, or simply *peague*, was, though improperly, also understood among the Dutch and English, as expressive of the generic denomination. *Wompam*, or white money, was made of the stem or stock of the *meteahock* or *periwinkle* : *suckauhock*, or black money, was manufactured from the inside of the shell of the *quahang* (*venus mercenaria*), a round thick shell-fish, that buried itself but a little way in the sand, and was generally found lying on it in deep water, and gathered by rakes or by diving after it. The Indians broke off about half an inch of a purple colour of the inside, and converted it into beads. These, before the introduction of awls and thread, were bored with sharp stones, and strung upon sinews of beasts, and when interwoven to the breadth of the hand, more or less, were called a belt of *seawan* or *wompam*. A black bead, the size of a straw, about one third of an inch long, bored longitudinally and well polished, was the gold of the Indians, and always esteemed of twice the value of the white ; but either species, was considered by them of much more value than European coin. An Indian chief, to whom the value of a rix-dollar was explained by the first clergyman of Rensselaerwyck, laughed exceedingly to think the Dutch set so high a price upon a piece of iron, as he termed it. Three beads of black and six of white were equivalent, among the English, to a penny, and among the Dutch, to a *stuyver*. But with the latter, the equivalent number sometimes varied from three and six, to four and eight. One of Governor Minuit's successors, fixed by placard, the price of the 'good splendid *seawan* of *Mannhattan*,' at four for a *stuyver*. A string of this money, one fathom long, varied in price from five shillings among the New Englanders, (after the Dutch gave them a knowledge of it) to four guilders, (§1.66½) among the Dutch.(a) The process of trade was this: the Dutch and English sold for

(a) The prices of the fathom are related by Roger Williams and David Pietersen De Vries. They must have referred to an inferior quality, if we calculate the number of beads in a fathom, or the Indians sold by the fathom at a price much less than the Dutch and English had put upon the value of single beads or shells.

particularly by the Indians of *Seawan-hacky*,* and of this, as well as the first mentioned articles, the New Netherlanders

seawan, their knives, combs, scissors, needles, awis, looking-glasses, hatchets, hoes, guns, black cloth, and other articles of the Indian traffic, and with the seawan bought the furs, corn, and venison from the Indians on the seaboard, who also, with their shell money, bought such articles from Indians residing in the interior of the country. Thus by this circulating medium, a brisk commerce was carried on, not only between the white people and the Indians, but between different tribes among the latter. For the seawan was not only their money, but it was an ornament to their persons. It distinguished the rich from the poor, the proud from the humble. It was the tribute paid by the vanquished to those, the five nations for instance, who had exacted contribution. In the form of a belt, it was sent with all public messages, and preserved as a record of all public transactions between nations. If a message was sent without the belt, it was considered *an empty word*, unworthy of remembrance. If the belt was returned, it was a rejection of the offer or proffer accompanying it. If accepted, it was a confirmation, and strengthened friendships or effaced injuries. The belt, with appropriate figures worked in it, was also the record of domestic transactions. The confederation of the five nations, was thus recorded. The cockle shells had indeed more virtue amongst Indians, than pearls, gold, and silver had among Europeans. Seawan was the seal of a contract—the oath of fidelity. It satisfied murders, and all other injuries, purchased peace, and entered into the religious as well as civil ceremonies of the natives. A string of seawan was delivered by the orator in public council, at the close of every distinct proposition made to others, as a ratification of the truth and sincerity of what he said, and the white and black strings of seawan were tied by the pagan priest, around the neck of the white dog suspended to a pole, and offered as a sacrifice, to *T'halongh-yawaagon*, the upholder of the skies, the God of the five nations.

Roger Williams' Key. Hubbard's New-England, and Gookin. Gov. Bradford's Letter Book. Massachusetts' Historical Collections, I. 54, 152, V. 171, VIII. 192. Hopkins' Housatunnuk Indians, p. 4. Burnaby's Travels, p. 60. Duke de la Rochefaucault Liancourt, I. 180. Major (General) Washington's Journal of Expedition in 1754, p. 15-16. Charlevoix, Journal d'un Voyage, &c. Potherie, Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale, &c. Tom. III. Le Beau, Advantures, &c. Tom. I. Hennepin. La Hontan. Megapolensis, Kort Ontwerp, &c. (MS. Copy.) De Vries, Kort Hist. ende Journael, &c. (MS.) Red Jacket's Speeches. (MS.) Rev. Samuel Kirkland's Manuscript Journals. The description of the pagan ceremony of the offering, &c. which Dr. Kirkland witnessed among the Oneidas, will be found in the Supplemental History of the five nations.

* Long Island.

had on hand a surplus quantity. It is obvious, therefore, that for the purpose of vending these wares, a favourite policy of Governor Minuit was to ascertain a new market. His trading vessels had visited *Anchor-bay* and *Sloop-bay*, situate on each side of *Red-Island*,* ascended the river† flowing into the bay of Nassau,‡ and trafficked at *Sawaans* or *Puckanokick*, where *Massassowat*, the friend of the Plymouth people, held dominion. From him and other Indians the latter had often heard of the Dutch, and from the same source the Dutch had no doubt received intelligence of the English. But during the six years which had elapsed since the settlement of Plymouth, there had not been the least intercourse with New Netherland. This negative relation would have continued, if the commercial policy which has been suggested, had not now induced Governor Minuit to seek out New Plymouth, as the market which was most convenient to intercourse, most congenial in temper and circumstances, and, therefore, preferable to Virginia or Canada, for the purpose of establishing a treaty of commerce and amity. The people of Plymouth had a trading house at *Manomet*,§ but, comparatively unambitious, their commerce, fortifications, and strength of men, were, as was acknowledged|| by them, far inferior to those of New Netherland. Confined in their operations to the vicinity of the barren and lonely spot on which they had been cast, their little trade was indispensable, and they were aggrieved that the Dutch had encroached upon this trade, almost to their very doors. Having no transatlantic commerce, they, this year, (1627) sent an agent to England and Holland, to make arrangements for such supplies as their wants or commerce demanded.

Such was the relative situation of the two colonies when in March, Governor Minuit caused a deputation to the Governor and Council of Plymouth, with two letters, written in Dutch and French, dated at “*Manhatas*, in Fort Amster-

* *Rooede Eylandt*, corrupted into Rhode Island.

† Taunton.

‡ Narraganset.

§ North side of Cape Cod.

|| By Governor Bradford, in his Letter Book.

dam, March 9th, 1627," (N. S.) signed, 'Isaac de Razier, secretary.' The Dutch Governor and Council congratulated the people of Plymouth on the success of their praise-worthy undertaking, proffered their 'good will and service in all friendly correspondency and good neighbourhood,' invited a reciprocity of amicable feeling, suggested for this purpose among other things 'the propinquity of their native countries, and their long continued friendship,'—and concluded by desiring 'to fall into a way of some commerce and trade'—offering 'any of their goods that might be serviceable,' and declaring that they should feel themselves bound to accommodate and help 'their Plymouth neighbours with any wares that they should be pleased to deal for.'*

The answer of Governor Bradford and Council was as follows :†

"To the Honourable and Worshipful the Director and Council of New Netherland, our very loving and worthy friends and Christian neighbours.

"The Governor and Council of Plymouth, in New-England, wish your Honours and Worships all happiness and prosperity in this life, and eternal rest and glory with Christ Jesus our Lord in the world to come.

"We have received your letters wherein appeareth your good will and friendship towards us, but is expressed with over high titles, and more than belongs to us, or than is meet for us to receive : but for your good will and congratulation of our prosperity in this small beginning of our poor colony, we are much bound unto you, and with many thanks do acknowledge the same, taking it both for a great honour done unto us, and for a certain testimony of your love and good-

* Extract from a manuscript history of Plimouth, communicated by Hon. Francis Baylies of Massachusetts. Prince's New England Annals, p. 172. Morton's New England Memorial, p. 91. Gov. Bradford's Letter Book, III. Mass. Historical Collections, p. 51. Hutchinson, II. App.

"To which (says Morton, secretary of Plimouth) the Governor and Council of Plimouth returned answerable courteous acceptance of their loving propositions, respecting their good neighbourhood in geoeal, and particularly for commerce."

† Dated March 19, 1627. The original was written in Dutch.

neighbourhood. Now these are further to give your Honours, Worships and Wisdoms to understand, that it is to us no small joy to hear, that it hath pleased God to move his Majesty's heart, not only to confirm that ancient amity, alliance and friendship, and other contracts formerly made and ratified by his predecessors of famous memory, but hath himself, (as you say,) and we likewise have been informed, strengthened the same with a new union, the better to resist the pride of that common enemy, the Spaniards, from whose cruelty the Lord keep us both, and our native countries. Now for as much as this is sufficient to unite us together in love and good neighbourhood in all our dealings, yet are many of us further tied by the good and courteous entreaty which we have found in your country, having lived there many years with freedom and good content, as many of our friends do to this day, for which we are bound to be thankful, and our children after us, and shall never forget the same, but shall heartily desire your good and prosperity as our own forever. Likewise, for your friendly proposition and offer to accommodate and help us with any commodities or merchandise which you have and we want, either for beaver, otters or other wares, is to us very acceptable, and we doubt not but in short time, we may have profitable commerce and trade together. But you may please to understand that we are but one particular colony or plantation in this land, there being divers others besides, unto whom it hath pleased those Honourable Lords of his Majesty's Council for New England, to grant the like commission, and ample privileges to them, (as to us) for their better profit and subsistence, namely, to expulse or make prize of any, either strangers or other English, which shall attempt either to trade or plant within their limits, (without their special license and commission) which extends to forty degrees: yet for our parts, we shall not go about to molest or trouble you in any thing, but continue all good neighbourhood and correspondence as far as we may; only we desire that you would forbear to trade with the natives in this bay, and river of Naragansett and Sowames, which is (as it were) at our doors. The which if you do, we think also no

other English will go about any way to trouble or hinder you ; which otherwise are resolved to solicit his Majesty for redress, if otherwise they cannot help themselves.

“ May it please you further to understand, that for this year we are fully supplied with all necessaries, both for clothing and other things ; but it may so fall out, that hereafter we shall deal with you, if your rates be reasonable : and therefore, when your people come again, we desire to know how you will take beaver by the pound, and otters by the skin, and how you will deal per cent. for other commodities, and what you can furnish us with ; as likewise what commodities from us may be acceptable with you, as tobacco, fish, corn, or other things, and what prices you will give.

“ Thus hoping that you will pardon and excuse us for our rude and imperfect writing in your language, and take it in good part, because, for want of use, we cannot so well express that we understand, nor happily understand every thing so fully as we should : and so we humbly pray the Lord, for his mercy’s sake, that he will take both us and our native countries, into his holy protection and defence. Amen.

“ By the Governor and Council, your Honours’ and Worships’ very good friends and neighbours.”

In August, Governor Minuit and council sent another deputy,* and in reply, insisted upon their right to trade to the places which Governor Bradford and council had interdicted, that, “ as the English claimed authority under the King of England, so we, (the Dutch) derive ours from the states of Holland, and will defend it.” The letter was in other respects very friendly, and, as if to preclude any interruption to the harmony of their projected intercourse, the messenger was charged with a present of “ a rundlet of sugar and two Holland cheeses,” for which many thanks were returned in the answer by Governor Bradford : he also requested that a deputy might be sent to confer respecting their future trade and commerce, and with the most friendly zeal cautioned the

* Jan Jacobsen Van Wiring, (John the son of Jacob of Wiring.)

Dutch to avoid the Virginia ships or fishing vessels, which might make prize of them, as they had a few years previously, of a French colony that had intruded within their limits :* apprised them of the patents of Queen Elizabeth, and advised them to solicit the States General, to negotiate with England for an amicable understanding upon the subject. Governor Bradford communicated copies of the correspondence to the council for New-England, and to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, requesting advice. But now, as if apprehensive lest the contemplated intimacy with the New Netherlanders, might give plausibility to their local pretensions, he wrote again to Governor Minuit in October, that he should suspend a decision on the question of trade, till the Plymouth agent should return from England and Holland, whither he had been sent to make arrangements, before it was ascertained that supplies could be obtained from the Dutch. He again advised them to adjust their title to a settlement "in these parts" lest in these "stirring evil times," it should become a source of contention.

But before the reception of the last letter, Secretary Razier, actuated by the prior communication of Governor Bradford, resolved, with the approbation of the Governor and council, to be himself the bearer of an embassy to Plymouth. In the bark Nassau, freighted with a few articles for traffic, manned with a retinue of soldiers and trumpeters, conformable to the fashion of the day, and proportional to the dignity of his station, this second officer of the government, departed on an embassy, which was as important in the primitive affairs of New Netherland and New Plymouth, as any of the magnificent embassies of the old world were to full-grown kingdoms.†

* In allusion to Argall's expedition against Port Royal, see p. 348.

† In the language of a contemporary of Gov. Minuit and Gov. Bradford :—"If any tax me for wasting paper with recording these small matters, such may consider, that small things in the beginning of natural or politic bodies, are as remarkable as greater, in bodies full grown." Thomas Dudley, the first deputy governor of Massachusetts, in an epistle to

The reader's fancy will follow the bark through the East river,* into the great bay of the island of shells,† and as it boldly swept over the bay, or cautiously glided along its shores, skirted by thousands of wigwams,‡ he will picture the wild and joyful gesticulations of the Indians, as they gazed upon the fantastic arrangements of the little vessel, or listened to the deep notes of the trumpeters.

Arrived in safety at Manomet,§ the secretary despatched to Governor Bradford a letter,|| announcing his arrival, specifying the articles that comprised his cargo, and requesting some mode of conveyance to Plymouth. His request was

“my very good lady, the Lady Bridget Countess of Lincoln,” dated Boston, 1631, and published in “Massachusetts, or the first Planters,” &c. Boston, 1696, p. 22.

* *Oost rivier*, called also *Helle Gadt rivier*.

† Long Island Sound.

‡ See Trumbull's Hist. of Connecticut, I. ch. 3.

§ North side of Cape Cod.

|| Addressed to “Monsieur Monseigneur, William Bradford, Gouverneur in Nieu Plemeën.

“After the wishing of all good unto you, this serves to let you understand, that we have received your (acceptable) letters, dated the 14th of last month, by John Jacobson of Wiring, who besides, by word of mouth, hath reported unto us your kind and friendly entertainment of him: for which cause (by the good liking and approbation of the Director and Council) I am resolved to come myself in friend-ship to visit you, that we may by word of mouth friendly communicate of things together; as also to report unto you the good will and favour that the Honourable Lord of the authorised West Indian Company bear towards you; and to show our willingness of your good accommodation, have brought with me some cloth of three sorts and colours, and a chest of white sugar, as also some *seawan*, &c. not doubting but, if any of them may be serviceable unto you, we shall agree well enough about the prices thereof. Also, John Jacobson aforesaid, hath told me that he came to you over land in six hours, but I have not gone so far this three or four years, wherefore I fear my feet will fail me; so I am constrained to entreat you to afford me the easiest means, that I may, with least weariness, come to congratulate with you: so leaving other things to the report of the bearer, shall herewith end; remembering my hearty salutations to yourself and friends, &c. From aboard the bark Nassau, the 4th of October, 1627, before Frenchman's point.

Your affectionate friend,

ISAAC DE RAZIER.

granted. A boat was sent to *Manonscusset*,* and Razier "honourably attended by a noise of trumpeters,"† was ushered into fort Plymouth. Here he was kindly entertained several days. The meeting was not merely one of commercial speculation and heartless formality. It was the first meeting, in the solitude of the new world, of the friendly colonists of two allied European nations. It was the joyful meeting of kindred as well as friends, for the wives and little ones of some of the pilgrims had also their birth-place in Holland. Though the rigid simplicity of puritan costume and manners, the simple salutation, for instance, of goodman and goody, were in direct opposition to the high-sounding titles, formal stateliness and warlike decorations of the Dutch, yet the very spirit of amity consecrated the intercourse upon this novel occasion.

When the Dutch departed, they were accompanied to Manomet by the Plymouth people, by whom articles of their merchandise were purchased, particularly the *seawan*, which was then introduced into New England, and became the medium of profitable trade with the Eastern Indians.‡ Such was the harmony of the first communication between the two colonies, that the Dutch offered their assistance against the French, if needed; urged their friends to abandon the barren spot on which fate had cast them, and remove to the fertile banks of the *Fresh river*.§ The adoption of this advice might have perpetuated that good feeling, which, though afterwards supplanted by contention and bitterness, was for

* On the south side of Cape Cod.

† Gov. Bradford's letter book.

‡ *Versche rivier*—the Connecticut.

§ Dr. Chalmers (*Political Annals*) says that Razier brought peltry and purchased corn. Hence it is inferred the Dutch had made little progress in agriculture. The conclusion is true, though the premises are not. It is doubtful whether Plymouth raised corn enough for domestic consumption. "But whatever were the honey in the mouth of that beast of trade, there was a deadly sting in the tail. For it is said they first brought our people to the knowledge of *wampumpeag*; and the acquaintance therewith occasioned the Indians of these parts to learn the skill to make it, by which,

years the foundation of repeated intercourse and profitable commerce. The Dutch frequently went to Manomet, exchanged their linens and stuffs for tobacco, which trade was extremely advantageous to the people of Plymouth, until the Virginians found out the Dutch colony, and drove them from this market by underselling them in tobacco.*

The West Indian Company also enjoyed immediately the salutary fruits of this commercial interchange, for the year after it commenced, (viz. 1628) Governor Minuit, without the necessity of any fresh imports that year, exported to the Amsterdam department more furs than at any other prior period.†

The earnestness of Governor Bradford and his Council, in advising the Dutch to clear up their right to settle in the land, evinces the light in which the former viewed that right, and their ignorance of any previous remonstrance upon the subject. It has, however, been affirmed that Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of the patentees of the New England charter of 1620, had remonstrated (in 1624) to King James, against the occupation of the Hudson, and that the States General, by their Ambassador, disclaimed it as merely a private undertaking of their West Indian Company.‡ It might admit inquiry

as by the exchange of money, they purchased store of artillery, both from the English, Dutch, and French, which hath proved a fatal business to those that were concerned in it. It seems the trade thereof was at first, by strict proclamation, prohibited by the king. ‘*Sed quid non mortalia pectora cogis? Auri sacra fames!*’ The love of money is the root of all evil,” &c. Hubbard. Hist. New Eng. Mass. Hist. col. V. 100.

* Mr. Baylies, extract. MS. Hist. of Plymouth.

† † Viz. 6951 beavers, 734 otters and other skins, valued at 61,975 guilders, or \$25,447 91½ cents.

‡ This is put about the period of the meeting of the English parliament, in February, 1624. See Belk. Biog. vol. I. 369–375. But the loose manner in which the complaint is told, without any authority cited, and particularly the reply which it is said the States made, viz. that if a settlement on the Hudson had been made it was without their order, as they had only erected a company for the West Indies, are circumstances which throw a suspicion over the statement. The grant to the company extended as far north as Newfoundland. Perhaps this story is confounded with one of a similar kind in the time of Charles I.

whether the English charter, in its constructive application, embraced that river ; for though it extended nominally to the fortieth degree, it contained an exception in favour of the possession of any Christian prince or state. The Hollanders in 1620 had the possession. The policy of King James, not, perhaps, very liberal on this subject, was pacific, and he probably preferred that the river should be settled upon by the Dutch rather than by the Spaniards or French, both of whom claimed the country. He was, if we credit English statements, aware that the Dutch had begun a settlement, and, perhaps, he caused the proviso in the great charter, as a tacit acquiescence. If therefore the remonstrance was made, no efficient interposition was obtained, nor was any regard paid to it by the West Indian Company : their measures with respect to New Netherland were not to be overawed by remonstrance or varied by conflicting title, but proportioned to the success of their arms, consequently to the amplitude of their resources, and the adaptation of the province to a lucrative investment of capital. This year they achieved a victory over the enemy so decisive, so complete, so unexampled in the magnitude of its trophies and advantages, as not only to enrich the members of the company, but tend directly to the establishment of permanent colonization in New Netherland. In September (1628) Admiral and General Peter Pieterzen Heyn captured in the bay of Mantanzas a fleet of twenty vessels laden with silver, gold and other precious articles, valued at more than twelve millions of guilders.* This was the famous Spanish silver fleet. The company during this and the preceding year took one hundred and four prizes from the Spaniards and Portuguese. Profit had augmented to fifty per cent. The treasure now poured upon the bosom of the society was so infatuating, that the States General found it necessary to

* 5,000,000 dollars. De Laet (Hist. West In. Co book V.) says 11,509,524 guilders, exclusive of musk, ambergris, bezoar and other precious articles in great quantity, besides the cargoes of two galleons and one small prize.

interpose some rules of government over foreign conquests,* not leaving them to the arbitrary whim and caprice of the conquerors or naval commanders, and on the other hand found it not very difficult to persuade the company, to their own ruin ultimately, to turn their operations expressly for the advantage of the Republic, and commence a "prince-like instead of merchant-like war."† But at this particular crisis, the interposition of their High Mightinesses, for the benefit of transmarine conquests and colonies, accompanied by a decree, authorising the different departments of the company to appoint a council of nine persons, who should be entrusted with the management of the whole,‡ was the foundation of the appointment of commissioners over the affairs of New Netherland, and of the adoption by the college of XIX. of a charter of *Liberties and exemptions for patroons, masters and private individuals who should plant colonies in New Netherland, or import thither any neat cattle.* These privileges and exemptions were adopted in the spring of 1629, and recorded in the book of resolutions of the department of XIX.§

A knowledge of the provisions of this charter is not only necessary for understanding perfectly the civil basis on which the colony of New Netherland was erected, but the charter merits attention as an object of curious political speculation. It discloses the peculiar notions of an armed mercantile society with regard to colonization. While it secured the right of

* Lambrechtsen, Kort Verhael, &c.

† De Witt.

‡ Lambrechtsen, on authority of the great Placard Book—*Groot Placatboek*, II D. bl. 1235.

§ Lambrechtsen says they are to be found in the Notules of that department, March 10. 1628, (old style)—but in a deed from Gov. Kieft to Ex-Governor Van Twiller, in 1638, of a tobacco plantation at Sapokanickan, (Greenwich in the city of New-York), the date of the grant of the liberties and exemptions is cited to have been the 7th of June, 1629. Perhaps as they were not published till 1630, they underwent modifications after they were first adopted, previously to their being finally confirmed as a charter.

the Indians to the soil, and enjoined schools and churches, it scattered the seeds of servitude, slavery, and aristocracy. While it gave to freemen as much land as they could cultivate, and exempted colonists from taxation for ten years, it fettered agriculture by restricting commerce and prohibiting manufactures.

CHAPTER V.

*Charter of Liberties and Exemptions of 1629.**

Privileges and Exemptions for the Patroons, Masters, or Particular Persons who shall settle any Colony or bring cattle therein, in New Netherland, considered for the service of the General West-India Company in New Netherland, and for the advantage of the Patroons, Masters, and Particular Persons.†

I.

THAT such members of the said company, as may be inclined to settle any colony in New Netherland, shall be permitted, with the ships of this company going thither, to send three or four persons to inspect into the situation of the country, provided, that they with the officers and ship's company, swear to the instrument of conditions (*articles*) so far as they relate to them; and paying for provisions, and for passage, going and coming, six stuyvers§ per day: and such as desire to eat in the cabin, twelve stuyvers, and to be subordinate, and to give assistance like others, in cases offensive and defensive: and if any ships be taken from the enemy,

* Translated, New-York, 8th May 1762, by Abraham Lott, junior. Renselaerwyck MSS.

† The charter was published at Amsterdam the next year, with the following title prefixed:—

Vryheden by de Vergaderinghe van de Negenthien van de Geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie vergunt aen allen den ghenen | die eenighe Colonien in Nieuw-Nederlandt sullen planten. In het licht ghegheven, &c. &c. T' Amstelredam, Door Marten Jansz Brandt, &c. Anno 1631.

Liberties or Privileges, granted by the Assembly of Nineteen of the Authorized West-India Company, to all such as shall or may settle or plant any colony* in New Netherland. Published with a view to make known what profits and advantages result to colonists and their Patroons and Masters, as also to others, who settle colonies in New Netherland.

§ Twelve and a half cents.

* The word *Colony* here made use of in the Dutch, signifies as much as the word *Manor* in English; and so it does generally throughout these conditions.

they shall, *pro rata*, receive their proportions with the ship's company, each according to his quality; that is to say, that the colonists eating out of the cabin shall be rated with the sailors, and such as eat in the cabin with those of the companies' men as eat at table, and receive the lowest wages.

II.

Though in this respect, shall be preferred such persons who have first appeared, and desired the same from the company.

III.

That all such shall be acknowledged Patroons of New Netherland, who shall, within the space of four years, next after they have given notice to any of the chambers, (or colleges) of the company here, or to the commander or council there, undertake to plant a colony there of fifty souls, upwards of fifteen years old, one fourth part within one year, and within three years after the sending of the first, making together four years, the remainder to the full number of fifty persons, to be shipped from hence, on pain, in case of wilful neglect, of being deprived of the privileges obtained; but it is to be observed that the company reserve the island of the *Manhattes* to themselves.

IV.

That from the time that they make known the situation of the places, where they propose to settle colonies, they shall have the preference to all others, of the absolute property of such lands as they have there chosen; but in case the situation should afterwards not please them, or that they should have been mistaken as to the quality of the land, they may, after remonstrating the same to the commander and council there, be at liberty to choose another place.

V.

That the Patroons, by virtue of their power, shall and may be permitted, at such places as they shall settle their colonies, to extend their limits four miles* along the shore, that is on one side of a navigable river, or two miles* on each side of a

* Sixteen English miles.

† Eight English miles.

river, and so far into the country as the situation of the occupiers will permit. Provided and conditioned, that the company keep to themselves the lands lying and remaining between the limits of colonies, to dispose thereof, when, and at such time as they shall think proper, in such manner that no person shall be allowed to come within seven or eight miles* of them, without their consent; unless the situation of the land thereabout were such, that the commander and council for good reasons should order otherwise; always observing that the first occupiers are not to be prejudiced in the right they have obtained, other, than unless the service of the company should require it for the building of fortifications, or something of that sort; remaining, moreover, the command of each bay, river, or island, of the first settled colony, under the supreme jurisdiction of their High Mightinesses the Staats General and the Company: but that on the next colony's being settled on the same river or island, they may, in conjunction with the first, appoint one or more council, in order to consider what may be necessary for the prosperity of the colonies on the said river and island.

VI.

That they shall for ever possess and enjoy all the lands lying within the aforesaid limits, together with the fruits, rights, minerals, rivers, and fountains thereof: as also the chief command, and lower jurisdictions, fishing, fowling, and grinding, to the exclusion of all others, to be holden from the company as an eternal inheritance, without its ever devolving again to the company, and in case it should devolve, to be redeemed and repossessed, with twenty guilders† per colony to be paid to this company, at their chamber here, or to their commander there, within a year and six weeks after the same happens; each at the chamber where he originally sailed from. And further, that no person or persons whatsoever, shall be privileged to fish and hunt, but the patroons, and such as they shall give liberty: and in case any one should in time prosper so much, as to found one or more cities, he shall have power and authority to establish officers and magistrates there,

* 28 or 32 English miles. † A guilder was 20 stivers, or 3s. 4d. currency.

and to make use of the title of his colony, according to his pleasure, and to the quality of the persons.

VII.

That there shall likewise be granted to all Patroons who shall desire the same, *Venia Testandi*, or liberty to dispose of their aforesaid heritage, by testament.

VIII.

That the Patroons may, if they think proper, make use of all lands, rivers, and woods, lying contiguous to them, for and during so long time as this company shall grant them to other Patroons or Particulars.

IX.

That those who shall send persons over to settle colonies, shall furnish them with proper instructions, in order that they may be ruled and governed conformably to the rule of government made, or to be made by the assembly of nineteen, as well in the political as judicial government; which they shall be obliged first to lay before the directors of the respective colleges.

X.

That the Patroons and Colonists shall be privileged to send their people and effects thither, in ships belonging to the company, provided they take the oath and pay to the company for bringing over the people, as mentioned in the first article; and for freight of the goods five per cent. ready money, to be reckoned on the prime cost of the goods here: in which is, however, not to be included, such creatures and other implements as are necessary for the cultivation and improvement of the lands, which the company are to carry over without any reward, if there is room in their ships. But the Patroons shall, at their own expense, provide and make places for them, together with every thing necessary for the support of the creatures.

XI.

That in case it should not suit the company to send any ships, or that in those going there should be no room; then the said Patroons, after having communicated their intentions,

and after having obtained consent from the company in writing, may send their own ships or vessels thither ; provided, that in going and coming they go not out of their ordinary course ; giving security to the company for the same, and taking on board an assistant, to be victualled by the Patroons and paid his monthly wages by the company ; on pain of doing the contrary, of forfeiting all the right and property they have obtained to the colony.

XII.

That as it is the intention of the company to people the island of the *Manhattes* first, all fruits and wares shall, for the present, be brought there, that arise upon the north river, and lands laying thereabouts, before they may be sent elsewhere : excepting such as are from their nature unnecessary there, or such as cannot, without great loss to the owner thereof, be brought there. In which case the owners thereof shall be obliged to give timely notice in writing, of the difficulty attending the same to the company here, or the commander and council there, that the same may be remedied as the necessity thereof shall be found to require.

XIII.

That all the Patroons of colonies in New Netherland and of colonies on the island of *Manhattes*, shall be at liberty to sail and traffic all along the coast, from *Florida* to *Terra Neuf*, provided, that they do again return with all such goods as they shall get in trade, to the island of *Manhattes*, and pay five per cent. for recognition to the company, in order, if possible, that after the necessary inventory of the goods shipped be taken, the same may be sent hither. And if it should so happen that they could not return, by contrary streams or otherwise, they shall in such case not be permitted to bring such goods to any other place but to these dominions, in order that under the inspection of the directors of the place where they may arrive, they may be unladen, an inventory thereof made, and the aforesaid recognition of five per cent. paid to the company here, on pain, if they do the contrary, of the forfeiture of their goods so trafficked for, or the real value thereof.

XIV.

That in case of the ships of the Patroons, in going to, coming from, or sailing on the coast, from *Florida* to *Terra Neuf*, and no farther, without our grant should overpower any of the princes of the enemy, they shall be obliged to bring, or cause to be brought, such prince to the college of the place from whence they sailed out, in order to be rewarded by them: the company shall keep the one third part thereof, and the remaining two thirds shall belong to them, in consideration of the cost and risk they have been at, all according to the orders of the company.

XV.

That it shall also be free for the aforesaid Patroons, to traffic and trade all along the coast of New Netherland and places circumjacent, with such goods as are consumed there, and receive in return for them, all sorts of merchandises that may be had there, except beavers, otters, minks, and all sorts of peltry, which trade the company reserve to themselves. But the same shall be permitted at such places where the company have no factories, conditioned that such traders shall be obliged to bring all the peltry they can procure to the island of *Manhattes*, in case it be at any rate practicable, and there deliver to the director to be by him shipped hither, with the ships and goods; or if they should come here, without going there, then to give notice thereof to the company, that a proper account thereof may be taken, in order that they may pay to the company, one guilder for each merchantable otter and beaver skin; the property, risk, and all other charges, remaining on account of the Patroons or owners.

XVI.

That all coarse wares that the colonists of the Patroons there shall consume, such as pitch, tar, weed ashes, wood, grain, fish, salt, hearthstone, and such like things, shall be brought over in the company's ships at the rate of eighteen guilders per last,* four thousand weight to be accounted a last, and the company's ship's crew shall be obliged to wheel, and bring the salt on board, whereof ten lasts make a hundred. And in case of the want of ships, or room in the ships, they may

* §7 50 for two tons.

in ships of their own order it over at their own cost, and enjoy in these dominions, such liberties and benefits as the company have granted : but that in either case they shall be obliged to pay, over and above the recognition of five per cent. eighteen guilders for each hundred of salt, that is carried over in the company's ships.

XVII.

That for all wares which are not mentioned in the foregoing article, and which are not carried by the last, there shall be paid one dollar for each hundred pounds weight, and for wines, brandy, verjuice, and vinegar, there shall be paid eighteen guilders per cask.

XVIII.

That the company promises the colonists of the Patroons, that they shall be free from customs, taxes, excise, imposts, or any other contributions, for the space of ten years : and after the expiration of the said ten years, at the highest, with such customs as the goods are taxable with here for the present.

XIX.

That they will not take from the service of the Patroons any of their colonists, either man or woman, son or daughter, man servant or maid servant : and though any of them should desire the same, that they will not receive them, much less permit them to leave their Patroons, and enter into the service of another, unless on consent obtained from their Patroons in writing. And this for and during so many years as they are bound to their Patroons ; after the expiration whereof, it shall be in the power of the Patroons, to send hither all such colonists as will not continue in their service, and until then shall not enjoy their liberty. And all such colonists as shall leave the service of his Patroon, and enter into the service of another, or shall contrary to his contract leave his service ; we promise to do every thing in our power to apprehend and deliver the same into the hands of his Patroon, or attorney, that he may be proceeded against, according to the customs of this country, as occasion may require.

XX.

That from all judgments given by the courts of the Patroons for upwards of fifty guilders, there may be an appeal to the company's commander and council in New Netherland.

XXI.

That touching such particular persons, who, on their own accounts, or others in the service of their masters here, (not enjoying the same privileges as the Patroons) shall be minded to go thither and settle; they shall, with the approbation of the director and council there, be at liberty to take up as much land, and take possession thereof, as they shall have ability properly to improve, and shall enjoy the same in full property, either for themselves or masters.

XXII.

That they shall have free liberty of hunting and fowling, as well by water as by land, generally and in public and private woods and rivers, about their colonies, according to the orders of the director and council

XXIII.

That whosoever, whether colonists of Patroons, for their Patroons, or free persons for themselves, or other particulars for their masters, shall discover any shores, bays, or other fit places for erecting fisheries, or the making of salt ponds, they may take possession thereof, and begin to work on them in their own absolute property, to the exclusion of all others. And it is consented to, that the Patroons of colonists may send ships along the coast of New Netherland, on the cod fishery, and with the fish they catch to trade to Italy, or other neutral countries; paying in such case to the company for recognition, six guilders per last:† and if they should come with their lading hither, they shall be at liberty to proceed to Italy, though they shall not under pretext of this consent, or from the company, carry any goods there, on pain of arbitrary punishment: and it remaining in the breast of the company to put a supercargo on board of each ship as in the eleventh article.

XXIV.

That in case any of the colonists should by his industry

* \$20 83 $\frac{1}{2}$.

† Or, \$1 25 per ton.

and diligence, discover any minerals, precious stones, crystals, marbles, or such like, or any pearl fishery, the same shall be and remain the property of the Patroon or Patroons of such colony; giving and ordering the discoverer such premium as the Patroon shall beforehand have stipulated with such colonist by contract. And the Patroons shall be exempt from all recognition to the company for the term of eight years, and pay only for freight to bring them over, two per cent. and after the expiration of the aforesaid eight years for recognition and freight, the one eighth part of what the same may be worth here.

XXV.

That the company will take all the colonists as well free, as those that are in service, under their protection, and the same against all outlandish and inlandish wars and powers, with the forces they have there, as much as in their power layeth to defend.

XXVI.

That whoever shall settle any colony out of the limits of the *Manhattes* Island, shall be obliged to satisfy the Indians for the land they shall settle upon, and that they may extend or enlarge the limits of their colonies if they settle a proportionate number of colonists thereon.

XXVII.

That the Patroons and colonists shall in particular, and in the speediest manner, endeavour to find out ways and means whereby they may support a minister and schoolmaster, that thus the service of God and zeal for religion may not grow cool, and be neglected among them; and that they do, for the first, procure a comforter of the sick there.

XXVIII.

That the colonies that shall happen to lay on the respective rivers or islands (that is to say, each river or island for itself) shall be at liberty to appoint a deputy, who shall give information to the commander and council of that western quarter, of all things relating to his colony, and who are to further matters relating thereto, of which deputies there shall

be one altered, or changed, in every two years ; and all colonies shall be obliged, at least once in every twelve months, to make exact report of their colony and lands thereabout, to the commander and council there, in order to be transmitted hither.

XXIX.

That the colonists shall not be permitted to make any woollen, linen, or cotton cloth, nor weave any other stuffs there, on pain of being banished, and as perjurers to be arbitrarily punished.

XXX.

That the company will use their endeavours to supply the colonists with as many blacks, as they conveniently can, on the conditions hereafter to be made ; in such manner, however, that they shall not be bound to do it for a longer time than they shall think proper.

XXXI.

The company promises to finish the fort on the island of the *Manhattes*, and to put it in a posture of defence without delay. And to get these privileges and exemptions approved and confirmed by their High Mightinesses, the Lords Staats General.

CHAPTER VI.

From 1629 to 1633. Commissioners of the affairs of New Netherland. Van Renselaer and others. Wouter Van Twiller delegated to proceed to New Netherland, where he acts pro tempore as Director General. Minuit not superseded. Exports and imports. Purchases of land for Lord Goodyn on the western side of New-port May, and for him and Lord Bloemaert, of Cape May; for Lord Pauuw, of Hoboken, Staten Island, &c.; for Lord Van Renselaer, of the land on the north and south sides of Fort Orange, on both sides of the river Mauritius. Colonies of Renselaerwyck, Pavonia, and Swan-valley founded. The company dissatisfied. The Directors unite for colonization. The contract and parties of association. Their first object to colonize the south river, to raise tobacco and grain, and fish for whales. De Vriez the founder of this colony, on the western banks of the Delaware; no other European here. Fort Nassau had been abandoned. The account of the settlement of New Sweden, as stated by some authors, erroneous. The history of that project; its suspension in consequence of the death of Gustavus Adolphus; its revival, and the causes and agents of it. The Dutch the first settlers, however, whence they derived their title. The English settle. The Dutch erect a pillar at Swan Valley. Causes of the destruction of the colony; the manner in which it was extirminated. De Vriez having been absent, now returns and concludes a treaty of peace. He and his second colonists remain four months only. Their adventures during the interim. Failing to obtain provisions for his colony, De Vriez makes the first visit to Virginia from New Netherland. He and his colonists depart the South river and stop at Manhattan. The second arrival of Wouter Van Twiller as Governor of New Netherland. Governor Minuit recalled and proceeds to Sweden. Van Twiller's officers. The progress of the colony, agriculture, commerce, &c. before Van Twiller's arrival. Causes that retarded its prosperity. Relations with New Plymouth, and the relative condition with New England. The commencement of the controversy between New England and New Netherland.

As the chamber of Amsterdam managed the trade to New Netherland, the Commissioners of its affairs were principally selected from the Lords Directors of that department. Samuel Goodyn, Samuel Bloemaert, Killiaen Van Renselaer, and Jan De Laet were of that number.

The liberality of the charter towards Patroons, the reputed advantages of New Netherland, and the flourishing condition of the finances of the company, determined those

commissioners, in connexion with the department which they represented, to send an agent to inspect the condition of the country, examine its public affairs, and superintend or direct for the benefit of individual directors, the purchase from the natives of some select tracts of land.

These appear to have been the motives and object of the delegation of Wouter Van Twiller of Niewer-Kerck, a clerk of the Amsterdam department, to proceed to New Netherland. Though it has generally been conceded, or asserted without contradiction, that he was *commissioned* as Director General, and arrived at Fort Amsterdam in June 1629, yet there is not sufficient authority for the assertion, and none for the common opinion that he was the first Director or Governor. He may have been invested by the college of XIX, through the intervention of the commissioners of IX., and department of Amsterdam, with powers tantamount to those of a *Director General*, or Governor in chief for the time being. Indeed this appears to have been the fact. But he took with him no superseders for Minuit, because he is named on record as *Director*, more than a year after the arrival of Van Twiller.* Moreover there cannot be assigned, from the state of Minuit's affairs at this time, any cause for the suspension of his authority. Commerce was prosperous and increasing: in return for the imports from the department of Amsterdam, amounting within the three years, from 1628 to 1630 inclusive, to 113,277 guilders,† the exports were 191,272 guilders.‡ If, as has been suggested, Van Twiller came "a wolf in sheep's clothing," he staid no longer than was necessary to examine the fold and mark his intended victims. Intrigue may have scattered the seeds of faction, and Van Twiller may have remained long enough to see them germinate. It is certain that factions about this time convulsed this infant colony; and perhaps this cause, combined

* Book of Dutch Patents, G. G. in the office of Secretary of State of New-York.

† \$47,198 72.

‡ \$79,696 66½.

with favouritism, and succeeded by mismanagement, may have accomplished the recall of Minuit, and the confirmation of Van Twiller, in undivided and established authority. Mean time let us retrograde in our history, and follow methodically the progress of events.

One of the three ships which the department sent over in 1629, visited the Indian village on the south-west corner of New-port May or Delaware Bay, and a purchase from the three chiefs of the tribe, was there made in behalf of *De Heer* Goodyn. This tract extended "from Cape *Hinloop*,* to the mouth of the river," about thirty-two English miles,† and was two miles in breadth.

In May 1630, a purchase for Goodyn and Bloemaert was made, from nine resident chiefs, owners of Cape May, of the land at that cape, sixteen miles in length along the bay, and sixteen miles in breadth, containing sixty-four square miles.‡

In July the Director and council ex-officio, accepted a grant from the Indian proprietors, in behalf of Michael Pauuw

* So named in the patent. The name *Hinloopen* is supposed to have been derived from the name of a Holland navigator. "De twee Kapen der Zuid-rivier zyn naar zekeren, waarschynylk *Jelmer Hinlopen*, (vergelyk *Scheltema* Rusland en de Nederlanden, I. D. vol. 53.) en *Kornelis Jakobse Mey*, *Kaap-Hinlopen* en *Kaap-Mey* genoemd, en de West-Kaap der Noord-rivier *Godins-punt*." (Lambrechtsen.) De Laet, b. 3. ch. ii. says the northern Cape of Nieuw-port May, is called Cape May, the southern Cape *Cornelius*; 4 miles (16 English) southward of this lies Cape *Hinlopen*.

† Eight Dutch miles large measure. The deed was executed by three of the inhabitants of their village in behalf of the rest, viz. by *Querquakos*, *Esanques*, and *Siconesius*, bears date July 15, 1630, and recites the purchase made June 1st, 1629, in consideration of certain cargoes of goods received. The Director and council ex-officio, accept and confirm said sale in behalf of the much esteemed Mr. Samuel Goodyn, absent. This deed is the second on record in the office of the Secretary of State, recorded in the Dutch book of patents GG. translated by James Van Ingen, Esq.

‡ Equivalent to sixteen Dutch square miles. This purchase was made by Peter Heyser Skipper, of the ship *Whale*, and Gilles Coster, Commissary, and on 3d Jan. 1631, they appeared before the Director and council,

Heer van Achthienhoven,* of “*Hobocan Hackinigh*, lying opposite the island *Manhatas*, and extending on the south side of *Ahasimus*, eastward the river *Mauritius*, and on the west side surrounded by a valley (marsh) and swamp, through which the limits were sufficiently distinguishable.”

This was succeeded by the more important investiture in Lord Pauuw, of the title to “the *Staten Island* on the west shore of *Hamels hoofden*,”† and this by another of “*Ahasimus*, and the island *Aressick*, alias *Hoeren-hoeck*, stretching along the river *Mauritius* and island *Manhatas* on the east side, and the island *Hobocan Hackinigh* on the north side, surrounded by marshes serving sufficiently for distinct boundaries.”‡

In August, lands in the vicinity of Fort Orange, and on both sides of the river and intervening islands, were purchased for *De Heer Kiliaen Renselaer*. The Indian owners of the land immediately round Fort Orange, had hitherto refused to sell the same, but it was finally purchased for Van Renselaer, through the agency of the commissary at Fort Orange.§ The

(their ship then lying in Goodyn's Bay) and received a confirmation bearing the above date, of the purchase in behalf of their principals, Goodyn and Bloemaert. See the patent in the book of Dutch patents G. G. translated by James Van Ingen, Esq.

* Lord of Achthienhoven, one of the Directors of the West India Company.

† The narrows between Staten and Long Island. *Hamel* was the name of one of the Directors of the company: *hoofden* head land. The Dutch called the channel between Dover and Calais *De Hooft den*, because these two places point forward as a head land. Sewel's Great Dictionary, (*Groote Woordenboek*) Dutch and English. This deed is dated July 15, 1631. (Book G. G.) It recites that before us, the Director General and council, &c. personally appeared, Krahorat Tamecap, Totemakwemama, Sierarewack, Sackwewew, Wissipoack, Saheinsius, (or boy) inhabitants, owners, and heirs, of the land called by us the Staten Island, on the west shore of *Hamels hoofden*, and in consideration of certain parcels of goods, have sold, &c. to Michael Pauuw, (absent, and for whom we ex-officio accept the same under proper stipulation) the said lands, &c. promising, moreover, to maintain the same from free all claims, &c. as well against the aforesaid *Wissipoacks heir* when arrived to years of manhood as others, &c.

‡ Dutch patents. Book G. G.

§ Sebastian Croll.

joint owners and granters of these lands, were *Kettemack*, *Nawanemitt*, *Albantzena*, *Sagiskaw*, and *Kanamack*. The whole purchase extended south and north from Fort Orange* nearly to Monemins Castle,† and on both sides of the river. But the land called *Semesseeck*, on the east shore opposite Castle Island to the aforesaid castle, had belonged in particular to *Nawanemitt*. *Petanoch*, whose right was also bought, was the proprietor of the “land from the mill creek north to *Negagonse*, being about three dutch (or twelve English) miles large measure.” And four other Indian owners sold the “land called *Sanckhagag*,‡ south of Fort Orange, extending from the ground opposite Smacks Island, to a point a little north of *Beeren Island*,§ and two days travel into the country.” The ground opposite this on the east side of the river, and as far north as the ground opposite Castle Island, was bought a few years afterwards.||

These were the limits of the colony or manor of Renselaerwyck.¶ The compensation to the natives for all these purchases, was “certain cargoes or parcels of goods.”

The territory of *de Heer Pauuw*, was named by him *Pavonia*,** and that of Goodyn, *Swaenendael*.††

* Albany. See map of Renselaerwyck, prefixed.

† This was on a small island at the mouth of the Mohawk river.

‡ Coeyman's purchase, since so called.

§ Bears Island, since called Barren Island, about twelve miles south of Albany.

|| Indian Deeds to Van Renselaer, and Dutch patents, 1630-1, & 1637. Renselaerwyck manuscripts. Part of them are deposited among the MSS. of N. Y. Historical Society, and others have been loaned to the author by General Van Renselaer.

¶ See Renselaerwyck map, constructed on a small scale from the original parchment map of the ancient colony, in possession of its present proprietor, General Stephen Van Renselaer, and prefixed to this history.

** Pavonia is often mentioned in the Dutch records. It embraced the territory opposite Fort Amsterdam, now New Jersey. De Vriez says that Pauuw, having afterwards learned that the land around Fort Orange was appropriated by Van Renselaer, Goodyn, and others, immediately caused the place where the Indians met and crossed over with beavers to Fort Amsterdam, to be set down for himself, naming it Pavonia, or *Parooniae*. Perhaps *Pauuwvonia*, was the true name which De Heer Pauuw gave.

†† Valley of Swans.

Thus three colonies, or plantations, were founded in New Netherland in 1630 ; but under circumstances not altogether calculated to conduce to its prosperity. After these extensive appropriations of the most eligible parts of the country in behalf of the directors, what inducements remained for the emigration of freemen ? What to incite enterprise or stimulate industry was left, when they were excluded from commerce, and forbade to spin or weave any cloth under the penalty of " being banished, and as perjurers to be arbitrarily punished."*

Those purchases were made without any apparent preconcert or organized association among the directors. Vague as the description of boundaries appears, they did not originally transcend much the limits prescribed by the fifth article of the charter, and for a justification of subsequent excess, the Patroons relied upon the 26th article, allowing an extension of the limits of the respective colonies.† Nevertheless, dissatisfaction was early manifested by the company, to whom the purchase of Pavonia was particularly displeasing, as this included the spot‡ where the Indians assembled to traffic in beavers, or to cross to Fort Amsterdam.

The directors who had effected the other purchases, deemed it policy to unite their interests, so far, at least, as to defray the expenses, and share the profits of colonization : and they also deemed it expedient to receive as co-partners some directors who had not been sufficiently vigilant to seize at an early period, the advantages proffered by the charter. This arrangement may have tended to allay some portion of the dissatisfaction, but it did not remove it entirely, nor prevent even the charter itself from being afterwards brought in question.

* See the charter. Art. XXIX.

† As appears from the correspondence between the Director of Rensselaerwyck and Governor Stuyvesant.

‡ Hoeren-hoeck, or Paulus-hoeck, so named from a person in the service of Pauw.

This contract of association was dated the 16th day of October, 1630.* The original parties were Samuel Goodyn, Kiliaen Van Rensalaer, Samuel Blomaert and Jan De Laet. Goodyn and Van Renselaer were merchants of Amsterdam; the former was a director also of the Greenland company, and the latter one of the chief partners† of the West Indian company. The immediate design of their association was to colonize the South river. They offered the command of an expedition for this purpose to David Pietersen De Vries,‡ an experienced and enterprising navigator, who had just returned from the East Indies. Not being a Director of the company, he consented to act, provided that his advantages should be equal to those of any of the patroons. They also received as additional partners, Mathias Van Ceulen, Hendrick Hamel, Johan Van Harinck-houck and Nicolaes Van Settorigh, who were Directors of the company. Equalizing by the contract all advantages, they equipped a ship and yacht and destined them for the South river; the fruitful borders of which might, they believed, become as distinguished for agriculture, as the North river had been for commerce. The express object proposed, therefore, to be pursued by the colony, was the cultivation of tobacco and grain; but as whales and seals frequented those waters, this fishery was to become a concomitant object for immediate profits.§ Ac-

* Dutch records.

† *Hoof participant Bewint hebben.* De Laet Hist. West Ind. Co.

‡ De Vries's Voyages. He is sometimes referred to in the Dutch records under the name of David Pietersen and David Pietersen Van Hoorn.

§ Planting tobacco and raising grain were the colonial objects, says De Vries. "Goodyn being informed that whales were plenty in these regions, and fish oil being 60 guilders (§25) the hog-head, the vessel was laden with the utensils for this fishery, as well as planters, cattle, &c." Whales and seals were found in Port May, (or New-York bay) as well as New-Port May (or Delaware), according to Vander Donck and the Dutch records. Long Island, particularly, was formerly famous for the great number of whales and seals on its coasts; but whether the frequent fisheries, or any other cause of a like kind hath driven away these creatures,

cordingly, the vessels were laden with utensils for this fishery, as well as with agricultural implements, seeds and cattle, and between thirty and forty colonists embarked under command of Captain De Vries.

He left the Texel on the 12th December, (1630) and arrived at the South bay in the course of the winter. He entered within two leagues of Cape Cornelius, a deep creek, described as containing fertile islands and abounding with fine oysters.*

who generally seek quiet seas and desert shores, it is certain they have, in a great measure, disappeared. Russel's Hist. of Amer. II. 270; Gardiner (in MS. notes), and the Long Island entries confirm the fact of the great number of whales on Long Island shore.

* De Vries, in speaking of this location, in different parts of his voyages, first speaks of it under the name of the "kill," afterwards the colony "on Swaenendael, or the whore kreek," "at Swaenendael in the whore kreek," "at Swaenendael." The terms are used by De Vries as synonymous. He considered the creek as embraced by Swanendael (Swans' dale or valley of swans.) In Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlandtz, it is said that "the name Hoeren kill (or Harlot's creek, also called Sinknesse) had its rise from the liberality of the Indians, for lavishly prostituting, especially at that place, their maidens and daughters to our Netherlanders there. Otherwise, it is by David Pieters De Vries, who about the year 1630, first endeavoured to settle there, called Swaenendael." It is described in Kort Verh. &c. as being two leagues from Cape Cornelius, a fine navigable stream, filled with fine islands, good oysters, and bordered by ground exuberant in fertility, &c. (MS. translated copy of Kort Verhael.) Doct. Holmes (in Amer. Annals, I. 259) says that in 1630, one of the Swedes erected a fort at Hoar kill. He refers to Smith's New Jersey 22, but has mistaken De Vries for a Swede.

In "A short account of the first settlements of Virginia, Maryland, New-York, New-Jersey and Pennsylvania: London, 1735," p. 14, it is said that in 1630 the Dutch erected a fort near the entrance of a creek called the Hoor kill, about 3 leagues within the Capes of Delaware, on the west-shore, where *Leicestown* now stands, which place to this day is oftener called and better known by the name of Hoor kill, its Dutch name, than *Lewes*, which was given it by Mr. Penn, when he named the county where it stands *Sussex*. The same year (1630) the Dutch, under the direction of *David Petersen De Vries*, extended their settlements farther up the Bay of Delaware, on the western shore, even to the entrance of the river, as far as *Bonkey's Hook*, calling that part *Sawenendale* or *Swandale*, which names they retain to this day."

Dutch vessels came before 1630, as appears from the purchase made in

A place was selected, a house erected and surrounded with palisadoes, without the precaution of parapets. This was their fort, house of commerce, and place of rendezvous. The climate during the winter was so mild, they suffered no inconvenience.* In the spring and summer they erected shelters, prepared fields, and commenced their cultivation. This settlement extended to a fertile valley some distance from their fort,† and the whole plantation, as included within the limits of Goodyn's purchase, reaching to The Little Trees Corner‡ received no other denomination than *Swaenendael*, or valley of swans.§

No other Europeans now occupied the river. The little fort Nassau had been abandoned, and was in possession of the Indians.|| Captain May had departed the country, and what

1629, (see note ante.) In 1623 the little Fresh Water river (Schuyl kill, that is, *hidden creek*) was discovered, says Stuyvesant's letter to Nicolls, in 1664. The Dutch no doubt visited this river often after they built fort Nassau; but it is very doubtful whether any other fort was at Hoar kill than that which De Vries's colony erected, if it was at Hoar kill, in 1630. It may be that when he returned in the fall of 1631, and concluded a peace with the natives at Swaenendael, he there built a fort to protect his fishery; or if his first fort was here erected, it could not have been, according to the received opinion, (in Kort Verhael, &c.; Smith's New Jersey, p. 22, &c. and Proud's Pennsylvania, p. 113-114, &c.) at the spot where Lewis town, or *Lewes*, was built. Swaenendael and *Boompjes Hoek*, (not Bompt, Bumpo, Bomkey, nor Bombay Hook) have been considered by some to be the same spot. Its Indian name was *Camataresse*. Acrelius, the Swedish historian of New Sweden, says the Dutch had a fort at Hoer kill (now Lewis) about the year 1633.

* De Vries says, except the wind blew from mountains supposed to be covered with snow at the west, they could "unshirt themselves" in the woods without inconvenience, and vegetables may be raised if protected in the night. Professor Kalm (in *Travels*) confirms the accounts of the mildness of the Delaware, from Swedish traditions. See also De Laet, b. 3 ch. 7. 11. and Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlandt.

† It is conjectured as far as Slaughter creek in Sussex county, state of Delaware.

‡ *Boompjes Hoek* corrupted into Bombay Hook. See note ante.

§ This was in Sussex and Kent counties, state of Delaware.

|| De Vries, after his colony was exterminated, sailed up the river, and arrived, he says, "before the little fort Nassau, where formerly lived some families of the West Indian Company," &c.

was rare in the first intercourse of Europeans with the natives, had gained their esteem, and secured a traditionary fame to his memory.

It has, however, been affirmed that a colony of Swedes and Finns settled this year (1631) on the west bank of the river; that on their arrival at Cape Henlopen, they were so delighted with the country, they named it Paradise point, and that they bought of the Indians the land from that cape to *Santickan*.^{*} This is an error in respect to the period of their arrival, as will be exhibited when the actual settlement of the colony of *Nya Sverige*† shall be mentioned. The mistake, perhaps, arose from an ignorance of the nativity of De Vries and his colonists.‡ The Swedes had long intended to found there a colony. Wilhelm Usselinx, a Hollander, who had some connexion with the Dutch West Indian company soon after its organization, and had become an eminent merchant at Stockholm, proposed as early as in 1624, to King Gustavus Adolphus, the plan of a Swedish trading company, (similar to the privileged Dutch West Indian company) the operations of which should extend to Asia, Africa, and America. Gustavus approving a plan which would give to the commerce of his kingdom a scope and an activity highly conducive to the interests of his subjects, granted a commission at Stockholm, on the 21st day of December, 1624, authorising Usselinx to proceed in his project. Articles were drawn by him in the Dutch language, for the approbation and signature of a company. His design being to found a colony on the South river, he illustrated his project, by superadding to the proposed articles of incorporation an address, in which he described the fertility, conveniences, and advantages of the country, and exhorted the Swedes with great earnestness to favour by engaging in its colonization. The principal reasons which he urged upon them were: 1st. That the Christian religion would thereby be propagated among the heathen.

* Falls of Trenton.

† Or *Nora Suecia*—New Sweden.

‡ See note ante, page 406.

2d. That his Majesty would enlarge his dominions, enrich his treasury, and lessen the public dues. 3dly. That it would be generally very advantageous to the people. The privileges proposed in the articles were liberal to the members of the company, and Usselinx himself was to reserve the one thousandth part of all the goods which the company should buy and sell. In consideration of these exertions, Gustavus issued a proclamation from Stockholm, July 2d, 1626, exhorting his subjects to contribute to the formation of such a company. The plan was recommended by the King to the States, and confirmed by them in the diet of 1627. Many persons of every rank, from the king to common subjects, subscribed. An admiral, a vice admiral, merchants, assistants, commissaries, and a military force were appointed, and the company received the denomination of the South company.* In the

* Thus far Swedish and other writers substantially agree, particularly Thomas Campanius in *Beskrifning om Nya Sverige*, Stockholm, 1702, and Israel Acrelius in *Beskrifning om de Swenske Forsamlingars Fordna och Nävaranda Tilstand uti det sa Kallade Nya Sverige Sedan Nya Netherland, &c.* Stockholm, 1759. These are the two original authorities upon which most writers have founded their statements respecting New Sweden: statements more or less correct in proportion to the reliance which has been placed upon the one or the other. Thomas Campanius Holm, in his description of New Sweden, is probably very nearly correct with regard to the progress of the projected company, up to the period referred to in the text. These facts he may have derived from authentic sources. His observations respecting the aspect of the country, local names, &c. may be generally correct, as he resided on New Sweden stream, (as the Swedes called the Delaware) where his grandfather had been a Swedish minister. He does not directly say when the Swedes first came. He observes that soon after this (viz. after the subscription in 1627) "the Swedes and Finns went to South river, and as their writers assure us, purchas'd the land from Cape Henlopen to the falls of Delaware." At another place he observes incidentally, "that Christiana fort was the first built when the Swedes arrived in 1631," &c. In another part he says, that in 1631, the Swedish Ambassador obtained a quit claim from King Charles of England, of his title by discovery, and the Swedes purchased also from the States General their right to the river, on account of having built three forts before the Swedes arrived. In these and many other statements he is loose, incoherent, and inaccurate. (See a part of his work translated in N. Y. Hist. Collections, vol. II.) It is agreed that the fort Christina was

following year (1628) it was concluded to gather the subscriptions, cause the money to be paid in March and May, and foreclose the further admission of members.

named in honour of the Queen, who did not ascend the throne till after 1631. The settlement of De Vries's colony in 1630-31, and his visit the next year and following winter, when he explored the river, and finally De Vries's statement made several years afterwards, when in the time of Kieft he visited the Swedish Governor Printz, and expressly says that now the Swedes had three forts, whereas when he was on the river before, there were no Swedes, is a satisfactory evidence that Campanius was mistaken.

But on this loose authority, several American as well as European writers have placed the arrival of the Swedes in 1631, and some of them as early as 1627. See Proud's *Pennsylvania*; Smith's *Nova Cæsaria, or New Jersey*; Holmes's *Annals*; Catteau's view of Sweden; Sprengel, *Geschichte der Europeers in America*. Raynal, who places their arrival about the year 1636, approaches nearest to the truth. But the authority of Acrelius is the most unquestionable on this point, and consequently the Swedes arrived in 1638. This also agrees with the time when the Dutch protested against the erection of their first fort, viz. in May 1638. The protest was one of the first measures of Gov. Kieft, and is in the Dutch records.

Acrelius wrote his work (*Description of the Swedish Congregations, their former and present condition in the so called New Sweden, afterwards New Netherland, &c.*) at a period auspicious for correct investigation. He was provost of the Swedish congregations in America and rector of Christina, but in 1759, (the date of his book) provost and rector of Fellingsbro. His work is in possession of the venerable Swedish Minister Nicholas Collin, at Philadelphia, who translated Acrelius at the request of Dr. Miller in 1799. The Rev. Mr. Collin observed that he had consulted many of the authorities cited by Acrelius and found them correct, but that "Acrelius himself was a sufficient voucher." (This manuscript is in MSS. of New-York Hist. Soc.) Professor Ebelings' *Geschichte der Staats New Jersey*, relies upon Acrelius as his authority for a very brief account of the arrival of the Swedes. The acute and learned investigator Peter S. Du Ponceau, in a discourse on the first settlement of Pennsylvania, places the arrival of the Swedes in 1638, and says that they were destined as a colony to continue only till the year that closed the reign of Christina, and the life of Oxenstierna. A contemporary authority with the Swedes, Andries Huddie, one of Van Twiller's officers, and a commissary on the South river, or Delaware, in the time of Governor Kieft, made an official report respecting the Swedes, (recorded in the Dutch records) in which Huddie says that John Printz (the Governor of New Sweden) "openly declared at his table, on the 3d June, 1647, in presence of Huddie and his wife," that "the company (Dutch West India Company) had no right whatever on this

But the intervention of the German war suspended all operations, and the death of the king proved fatal to the main project. The subordinate plan of a colony on the south river was not revived until several years after Gustavus fell, in the arms of victory, at the head of his cavalry, on the plains of Lutzen : it was during the minority of his daughter, the virgin queen of Sweden, but under the sanction of her chancellor, the renowned Axel Oxenstierna, that the scheme was revived, from intervening causes and through agents different from those of its projection. For while the death of Gustavus (1632) arrested the progress of all operations, the fate of De Vries's colony, the same year, was to prepare the country for the reception of the Swedes ; and as the first plan had been conceived by one native of Holland, so the last was to be executed by another.

As yet, (1631-2) the Dutch were, however, in tranquil possession at *Swan-valley*. They deduced their right, not only from the legitimate source, the purchased consent of the natives, but from the discovery of the bay by Hudson in 1609, and the occupation of the river as early as 1623. The English also claimed it, as having been discovered by Lord *De la War* in 1610. Whether he took such formal possession* of the bay, as did away the right of the Dutch in consequence of the informal visit of Hudson ; whether the undefined discovery of the Cabots precluded the force and validity of either, or whether the United Provinces at that time were so far admitted into the community of nations, as to be entitled to derive any right by discovery, are speculative problems, which it is not necessary at present to discuss. It is certain, that the patent to Virginia covered this district, but equally so

river—that he (Gov. Printz) purchased the land in behalf of the crown of Sweden—that the *company could not trust on their old uninterrupted possession—the devil was the oldest possessor of hell, but he sometimes admitted a younger one,*" &c. Dutch records, Vol. XVII. This adds to the other proof that the Dutch were the first settlers on the Delaware.

* Hume, (in reign of king James I.) says, that if a pirate or sea-adventurer stuck a stick or stone on a coast, it was considered the foundation of a title to a whole continent, regardless of the rights of the natives.

that the Dutch in their occupation, were so far recognised, that Governor John Harvey and his council of Virginia, by whose orders every part of their patented limits had been explored, did, in March (1631-2) grant to William Cleyborne a license to traffic “into the adjoining plantations of the Dutch.”* It is also true, that King Charles in the dismemberment of Virginia, by a patent this year (1632) to the son of Lord Baltimore, as far as the Estuary† of the Delaware, was influenced by the prior suggestion of Lord Baltimore, that the country was uninhabited by christians—a suggestion which, though true when made, had, when the patent was granted, become nugatory in effect, by the intervening colony of the Dutch.‡

* See Chalmers’ Political Annals, 207-9. Had Dr. Chalmers known of the existence of the colony of *Swaenendael*, he would have probably yielded to the natural import of these words, and spared the imputation upon the English Commissioners, of their acting under the influence of passion, or from the suggestions of an interested man, when they decided in the controversy between William Penn and Lord Baltimore, that the western banks of the Delaware had been settled upon by Europeans before his patent.

† See the patent and limits described in a short description of the first settlements of Pennsylvania, Virginia, &c. See also, Bosman’s Maryland.

‡ The Hon. James Logan, deceased, in a letter in 1717, to John Page, Esq. an eminent member of the English bar, whom the trustees of the province of Pennsylvania had employed to defend their right against the endeavours of the Earl of Southerland, to obtain from the crown a grant of the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on the Delaware; to prove that these counties were always esteemed a part of New-York colony, and embraced within the charter to William Penn from the Duke of York, says: “In that ‘state of the claims of the two proprietors Lord Baltimore and William Penn,’ though the title is not expressly mentioned, yet the story of those counties is faithfully related to the best of my knowledge. It is there shown from *D. Heylin’s Cosmography*, whose first editions are ancient, that New Netherlands extended to the westward and southward of Delaware river and bay; that the Dutch had planted the western side of it, and built two towns, viz. Hoar Kill, (now Lewis) and Sandy Hook, (now Newcastle); that this river and the North, being taken, &c. came under the government of the Duke of York,” &c. &c. (This letter is among other manuscripts of the late Mr. Logan, in possession of his venerable and learned widow.)

The Dutch, not unapprised, however, of the controversial nature of their pretensions, and yielding to the prevailing opinion that some sign of a formal possession was necessary, erected, at Swan-valley, a pillar, with a piece of tin affixed to it, on which was figured the emblem of Holland. This was a substitute for the arms of their High Mightinesses, and a commemoration of their title over that of other christian powers. The cabalistic properties of these emblematic figures were incomprehensible to the Indians. They had not been initiated in the refined subtlety of a theory, which, in practice, was to give one European nation a greater right than another, over a territory which neither could justly claim, without the permission of the natives. One of their chiefs, therefore, one day, very innocently and very unceremoniously, took away the figured tin in order to manufacture it into tobacco pipes. The officers of the colony were in a rage. The act was viewed as much in the double light of a national insult and a theft, as if the Indians had known the prevailing refinement of European theory, or appreciated the sacredness of distinct rights of property. They viewed the soil as their common heritage, derived as a gift from the Great Spirit to their fore-fathers : in its enjoyment, or in that of the fruits of the forest that covered its surface, and of the streams that diversified its scenery, all was a unity of interest, and one common board of hospitality.

At this unfortunate crisis, (1632) De Vriez had gone to Holland, leaving in his absence, Gillis Osset, as *opper-hoofst*, or commander. His ignorance, unenlightened by the experience—and his rashness, undisciplined by the discretion of the founder of the colony, hastened its lamentable catastrophe. Nothing, on the part of the Indians, could appease the anger of the commander. So much jangling took place, and so much dissatisfaction was expressed, that the Indians, not knowing how to reconcile matters otherwise, cut off the head of the offending chief, and brought a token of the deed to Osset. He now perceived his error ; but as one error has usually its associates, and rashness when habitual, is seldom succeeded by the prudence necessary to repair its ra-

vages, he took no precaution to prevent the consequences of so unequal and exasperating a punishment for so trifling an injury. He merely told the Indians that they had done wrong; they should have brought the chief to be reprimanded, and then he would have been dismissed. But Indians were taught from childhood to esteem revenge as a virtue. The law of retaliation existed in full vigour. It was their inalienable right—it constituted the moral force of their union and government—the source of their wars and triumphs, and not unfrequently the cause of their domestic woes and national calamities. If the venerable elders, or the congregated chiefs and counsellors, interposed their authority in cases of private revenge, it was to assuage the vindictive feelings by advice, by persuasion, and by presents, to save perhaps the threatened extermination of a whole tribe or family. If they themselves came forward as avengers, they did so to vindicate the honour of their nation, by sanctioning the operations of war parties, or by sitting in judgment when the sacred right of the calumet of peace had been violated, or retorting the blow, when the wound had been given to them, through the person of one of their head men or sachems. In such a case as this, not only the surviving relatives of the deceased, and the particular friends with whom, according to the Indian custom, he had formed the league of inviolable fidelity, but the members of his clan, were all interested to enforce the law of revenge.

If, as appears to have been the fact in the present instance, the members of the chieftain's clan, had doomed him to his fate, the retributive punishment which was still claimed as the right of his immediate relations and friends to inflict, recoiled from the direct agents to the supposed principals in the act. Accordingly, the friends of the beheaded chief now resolved to inflict upon the colony of the valley a vengeance, so ample in its scope, that not one white man should breathe on their territory, or escape to recount the fate of his comrades. The opportunity for this purpose was not distant, nor, in the unsuspecting state of the colonists, was the execution to be difficult. The season of tillage had arrived, and they

were sedulously engaged in the cultivation of tobacco and grain upon their fields, at some distance from the fortified house. The colony consisted of thirty-four persons. The Indians having concerted measures—a sufficient party of their resolute men were designated, and they selected as the most favourable period, that when the colonists to the number of thirty-two were thus engaged, while the commander and one sentinel only remained at the house. To surprise them, and possess the fort, was the first object. The house had no protecting ramparts, but being merely surrounded with palisades, the defence would have proved powerless against a multitude of exasperated Indians, even had not cunning and stratagem, instead of open force, been resorted to, and among them considered, perhaps, more than they were among the ancient Spartans, a fair substitute for courage. Indeed, on this occasion, a resort to open force would have been useless, for the entrance to the fortification was thrown open, especially to those Indians that came, as was usual, to trade away their peltry. The hostile party having placed themselves in ambush, three of their boldest warriors were detached to perpetrate the first act of their purpose. Armed with their customary weapons, bows, arrows, tomahawks, or axes, they sallied forth like so many huntsmen from the chase, and with their arms filled with parcels of beaver skins, proceeded to the fort.

Passing the sentinel without interruption, but cautiously avoiding and fearfully eyeing a large bull dog, which was chained outside of the house, they advanced towards the commander who stood near the door, and with countenances, in which their horrid secret was effectually disguised by the smile of treacherous friendship and obsequiousness, offered to him their beavers to barter, and made signs of request to enter the house. He went in with them to transact the business, which having finished, he proceeded to the garret where the public goods were kept, in order to obtain the equivalent promised in the exchange. In his absence, the Indians posted themselves near the staircase, and awaited, with fiend-like impatience, the reappearance of the commander. The mo-

ment he descended, one of them cleft his head with an axe, and he fell dead on the floor. At the same instant, they rushed on the sentinel, and murdered him in like manner. Their next attention was directed to the bull dog, which, though chained, they viewed as the most formidable obstacle. So much, indeed, was their terror in beholding this animal, that they avoided him at such a distance, that at least twenty-five arrows were discharged before they killed him. Having accomplished the possession of the fort, they now hurried forward to execute the remaining and most difficult part of their plan. The colonists, however, were busily engaged, as before observed, and were unarmed, unsuspecting, and scattered. To them the appearance of parties of Indians would excite no fear, for they were surrounded by numerous tribes, and they had been accustomed, without any molestation, to behold parties of warriors and hunters pass and repass their settlement. The Indians having united their full force, hastened to the fields—but leisurely advanced towards the colonists, with the careless air of idle curiosity, and friendly salutation, as if they had been attracted thither barely to witness the white man's patient and superior skill, in obtaining subsistence from their common mother, the earth. Circumspectly watching the signal of their concerted movement, they suddenly fell upon the unwary victims, and butchered, one after another, until all were massacred. The bodies of the murdered were left on the ground, the store-house was rased, the palisadoes torn up and burnt, and the Indians became once more sole monarchs of the country.

In December,* De Vriez returned from Holland. He re-

* “ Dec. 1st, (1632.) We sounded at 39°, had 57 fathoms, sand, and smelled land, (the wind being N. W.) occasioned by the odour of the underwood, which in this time of the year is burned by the Indians, in order to be less hindered in their hunting; we smell therefore the land before we can see it; at 13 or 14 fathom, we saw land—from 34° to 40°. The 3d we saw the opening of the south-bay or south river—we went the 5th in the bay. We had a whale near the vessel. We promised ourselves great things—plenty whales and good land for cultivation.” De Vriez' Voyage, MS. copy, translated by Dr. G. Troost of Philadelphia—the original in the library of the library committee of that city.

entered the bay, where the silence and solemnity of death prevailed. A cannon was fired, but the natives had fled. The ensuing day, some of them were visible near the verge of the forest. De Vriez in his boat, ascended the creek to that part of the valley which was strewed with the 'heads and bones' of his murdered countrymen. He beckoned and exclaimed "*rancontyn mariniet.*" But words importing peace were received with guilty hesitation. At last, one of the most fearless entered the boat, and was rewarded by a present for his confidence. His example was gradually followed; and De Vriez, having collected a circumstantial account of the destruction of his colony, next day met the assembled chiefs, formed with them a treaty of peace, with its usual accompaniments of presents—and the Indians departed, overjoyed to find that no retribution was exacted for the blood of the colony. He deemed this pacific measure the true policy—instead of waging war against an itinerant people; and knew also, that reconciliation was consonant to the wishes of the directors of the West-Indian Company, who, when solicited, refused to allow a war.

The tragical fate of the colony deterred Goodyn, Van Rensselaer, and the other patroons, from engaging in the second enterprise, and De Vriez had undertaken it on his own responsibility. He brought a small number of people with the design, partially to cultivate the soil, but principally to pursue the whale fishery. This resulting less profitably than he had anticipated, he remained four months only. In this interim, though nothing very remarkable occurred in the adventures of the colonists, yet to show the precariousness of their condition and the state of the country, it may not be unimportant to notice some incidents. De Vriez, in order to obtain supplies of provision for his people, visited the Indians on the south river, beyond the deserted Fort Nassau. Upon his approach, they listened to his request, and urged him to go into the Timmerkil.* But warned by a female,† that the

* Carpenter's Creek, opposite Quequenaku, (Philadelphia.)

† Many instances of the friendship of the female natives occur in the

crew of a vessel had lately been there murdered, he returned to Fort Nassau. It was thronged with Indians. More than forty entered his boat ; some played on reeds, and others offered beavers. De Vriez had seven men only, whose vigilant eyes were directed to every movement of the Indians, and whose suspicion of their intention becoming sufficiently confirmed, they were ordered on shore, with threats of being fired upon, and with a declaration that their *Manetto* had revealed the wickedness of their intention. After this, sixteen chiefs formed a circle on the shore, and invited De Vriez to make peace, declaring that they had discarded all evil designs. A peace was ratified, with the formalities of presents, the purpose of each of which was explained by a speech—but on this occasion the Indians refused, though urged by De Vriez through his interpreter, to accept any presents ; the former declaring that they did not now give presents for the sake of obtaining others in return.

Failing to procure corn on the south river, and conceiving it impossible that he should find any at “ the large river near Fort Amsterdam,” he resolved to go to Virginia for provisions for his return voyage, and enjoy at the same time the pleasure of being the first visitor to that province from New Netherland. This he accomplished. While in Virginia,* he learned from the governor that he had sent a party to the Delaware, who had never returned. This was conjectured to have been the same that had been assassinated—a circumstance which shows the hostility which, at that period, actuated the Indians towards all Europeans.

Having succeeded in the object of his visit, and received from the governor a peculiar present,† for his colony, De Vriez returned in April (1633), and learning that the whale-

annals of the colonies, from the time of the heroic example of Pocahontas to that of the female that saved Fort Detroit from the fate which Pontiac had visited upon Mackinaw.

* De Vriez says he saw here, for the first time, a peach tree.

† Six goats. These were, no doubt, brought to Fort Amsterdam, and were the parents of a very numerous and troublesome progeny. They had been introduced to Virginia in 1611.

fishery had proved unsuccessful, he hastened* his departure, and with the other colonists embarked for Holland, visiting on his way Fort Amsterdam, where he arrived on the sixteenth of that month.

He was welcomed into the fort by Wouter van Twiller, who had arrived from Holland with sole power, as the second governor of New Netherland. The ship *Salt Mountain*,† then lying before the fort—a vessel of twenty guns,‡ fifty-two sailors, and one hundred and four soldiers, had borne the director general to his new government.§

Governor Minuit had been recalled and displaced by the directors of the company, and his secretary and chief commissary, a victim to the factions that had rent the colony, shared the disgrace of his master.|| A disagreement, whether fomented by intrigue, or resulting from mismanagement or accident, had arisen between Minuit and his principals, and Van Twiller enjoyed the honours which the misfortunes or

* His people during his absence, had taken but seven whales in Goodyn's bay, or the Delaware, which gave 32 "carteels" of fish oil.

† *Soutberg*.

‡ Four brass and sixteen iron guns. De Laet's History of the West India Company, gives the rate, &c. of this ship

§ "16th April, 1633," (says De Vriez in his Journal) "we weighed anchor and went to Staten Island, where we arrived about noon, opposite Fort Amsterdam. We found there the ship *De Zoutberg*, belonging to the West Indian Company. It had on board the new commander, named *Wouter van Twiller*, from Nieuw-Kerke. He had been a clerk of the West Indian Company at Amsterdam, and he left Holland after we had been gone. I went on shore near the fort, he bade me welcome and asked how the whale fishery had fallen out. I told him that I had a sample of it, and that they were fools who came here at such expense to fish for whales. The company could have known how this fishery was, by sending two or three sloops from the settlement here. At least Godyn, who since the West Indian Company had been in existence, was one of its directors, and also a director of the Greenland Whale Company, ought to have known that these things should have been tried at less expense." De Vriez' Voyages to New Netherland, MS. copy, in Loganian Library—translated by Doctor Gideon Troost of Philadelphia. (Note, the above extract seems to settle the date of Van Twiller's arrival, in confirmed authority.)

|| Aerelius and Gov. Bradford.

the folly of his predecessor had forfeited. Remunt succeeded Razier. Notleman was Van Twiller's high-sheriff and attorney-general.† The members of his council, composing also the commercial gradations of upper koopman, under koopman, koopman, and assistant, were, besides the above officers, Andries Huddie and Jaques Beutyn; Sebastiaen Croll appears as first commissary of Fort Orange, while Jaques Elckens now held the rank of koopman over the North river; and Jacobus van Corlaer seems to have been Van Twiller's chief trumpeter.‡

Minuit had not lost his ambition with his authority. With a knowledge of New Netherland, resulting from an experience of nine years, he proceeded from Holland to Sweden, where Queen Christina had just been elected, and under her patronage, or rather that of her illustrious chancellor, it will appear that he became the founder of New-Sweden, on the banks of the river which had so lately been made desolate by the destruction of one colony and the departure of another.

Before the arrival of Van Twiller, little progress was made in the settlements of Pavonia and Renselaerwyck. It does not appear that the lord of Achthienhoven took effectual measures to settle Pavonia, or retain its title, unless as trustee for the company. Though denominated the colony of Michael Pauuw, it reverted, finally, to the company, either by concession or compulsion. De Heer Van Renselaer had not yet arrived in New Netherland, but had shipped some colonists with farming stock, implements and necessaries, and caused some houses to be erected.§ The first large island south of Fort Orange was cultivated,|| and on this, *Renselaerburgh*, afterwards the place of residence of the patroon, was laid out.¶

~. 421-428 missing

† *De Heer-Officier* or *Hoofdt-Schout* and *Procureur-general*, two offices blended in one, and synonymous with high-sheriff and attorney-general. *De Vriez* and Dutch Records.

‡ See further, a list of names at the end of Van Twiller's administration.

§ *Renselaerwyck MSS.*

|| By Brant Pylen.

¶ See Map of *Renselaerwyck*. vol. 1. 51. 11 f



Handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is written in cursive and appears to be a list or series of notes, though it is mostly illegible due to the quality of the scan and the angle of the handwriting.

